PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY

AND

Catholic Emancipation

RECONCILED

BY

LEGISLATIVE UNION.

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PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY

AND

Catholic Emancipation

RECONCILED

BY A

LEGISLATIVE UNION;

WITH A

VIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS IN 1782,

RELATIVE TO THE INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

Irish Parliament,

AND THE

PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND,

AS

DEPENDANT ON THE CROWN,

AND

CONNECTED WITH THE PARLIAMENT

OF

Great Britain.

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

Altera jam teritur *Bellis Civilibus* Ætas.
Suis et ipsa Roma *Viribus* ruit.
Furorne Cæcos, an rapit *Vis acrior*,
An *Culpa?* ——— HORACE.

LONDON:
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1800.

PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY

AND

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

RECONCILED.

"*THE relative grandeur of France*," ſays the ſagacious Monteſquieu, "*was, in the reign of Lewis XIV. at its higheſt pitch, becauſe England and Scotland had not yet formed themſelves into* ONE UNITED KINGDOM."

What would that great man have ſaid, if he had lived to ſee the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Ireland? For, though diſaffection prevailed in Scotland to a conſiderable degree at the period alluded to, yet no rebellion or inſurrection had taken place of magnitude to weaken the power or diſtract the attention of Government, from the continental war in which it was then engaged, and therefore can in no wiſe be compared with the Iriſh rebellion of 1798, whether it be conſidered as to its numbers and extent, its dangerous object and ruinous conſequences, much leſs as to the horrors and bloodſhed by which it has been diſtinguiſhed.

In ſuch a ſituation, every man muſt naturally have wiſhed for a remedy to ſo many evils; but it required the ſtrongeſt penetration to ſeize the object of an Incorporate Union as the only efficient corrective; and the firmneſs of a manly mind to propoſe and purſue the meaſure; regardleſs of the many difficulties, and unawed by the accumulated dangers that preſſed on every ſide.

To convert anarchy into order, weakneſs into ſtrength, and ſeparation into union; is a great and glorious undertaking. It preſents every encouragement to the virtue of a *Patriot King*, every inducement to the pride and ambition of an enlightened ſtateſman; and the accompliſhment will be attended with immortal honour to the adviſers of the meaſure; and, I truſt, endleſs happineſs to the Britiſh Empire.

The ſubject of an Incorporate Union with Ireland has been ſo ably opened by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, with all its bearings on the advantages it offers to the peace, ſecurity, and the proſperity of Ireland; as well as the general object of ſtrength and importance to the empire; the commercial advantages have been ſo clearly laid down by Lord Auckland, and the abſtract relations of all the parties concerned, ſtated with ſuch juſtneſs and preciſion by Lord Minto,

Minto, that every thinking and diſpaſſionate man muſt have made up his mind on the neceſſity and expedience of this important meaſure: which, during the diſcuſſion, has received additional light from the reſpectable abilities of Mr. Addington, the practical knowledge of Lord Sheffield, and the learned reſearch of Mr. Douglas.

In this kingdom, the utility of the meaſure may be ſaid to have been generally recogniſed; for it has been not only well received; but has had the ſingular fate, that no objections have hitherto been made to it, either in Parliament or through the medium of the preſs.

In Ireland it has had many powerful ſupporters, among whom, two young men, Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Smith, deſerve to be noticed. It has there, too, met with violent opponents; of whom Mr. Foſter and Mr. Grattan, from their character and conſequence, may be conſidered as the chief.

If ever cool examination and diſpaſſionate inquiry were particularly called for, it muſt be on a queſtion of ſo vaſt importance; where, from the nature of the ſubject, the mutual intereſts of two friendly, but high-ſpirited kingdoms, were to be diſcuſſed; and where every

irritating appeal to the popular topics of national pride and vulgar prejudice, ſhould have been cautiouſly avoided.

If, on the contrary, we find extenſive views narrowed down to local and perſonal conſiderations; general expedience retorted by partial convenience; argument anſwered by declamation, and reaſon by invective; we muſt, at leaſt, diſtruſt the cauſe that has recourſe to ſuch inſtruments of defence.

Abſtracted from perſonal reflections on Mr. Pitt's abilities, intentions, and character; Mr. Foſter's oppoſition turned principally on two points:

Firſt, An appeal to the Settlement of 1782, which he ſtyles *final*; and from thence argues, that it bars and precludes the very poſſibility of any new arrangement between the two kingdoms; which I mean to make one object of our preſent inquiry: and, ſecond, A view of the commercial ſtate of Ireland, from which he infers the inexpediency of the meaſure. This ſecond part has been ſo ably and fully anſwered in a well-known pamphlet, entitled, "Obſervations on that Part of the Speaker's Speech that relates to Trade," that the Speaker ſtands at this moment in an awkward ſituation, with

with his veracity committed by an appeal to authentic documents, which he is charged with having misapplied, if not misstated; to which no reply has been made, nor any attempt, as yet, to clear the doubt, or wipe away the imputation.

The first objection, resting on a pretended *final settlement* in 1782, that *now* barred a treaty for Union, though it has been most clearly shown to be irrelevant and unfounded, is become capable of a more satisfactory answer, from Mr. Grattan, who was the principal mover in the transaction alluded to, having lately come forward, and given the key to unravel the mystery in which it had been industriously involved.

My first object then, in this publication, is to give a full and minute account of the transactions in 1782, relative to the legislative independence of Ireland, which will not only place them in a new light, by a recapitulation of facts, but most clearly show that they were all intended to pave the way for *final adjustment*, instead of being opposed as a bar to such a measure. I shall then * take a short view of

* Lord Grenville's very able speech on the political situation of Ireland was never published; if it had, the present publication had, probably, been rendered unnecessary.

the

the political and commercial connexion between the two kingdoms, arising from that independence; in order to enforce the neceſſity of an Incorporate Union; and ſhall conclude by an examination of the internal ſtate of Ireland, as divided into Roman Catholic and Proteſtant intereſts, with their relative rights, claims, and ſituation; from which I truſt to be able to ſatisfy the mind of every ſenſible man of either perſuaſion, that their particular as well as general intereſts and advantage, can only be effectually ſecured by an Union; and that an Union is the only poſſible and ſuppoſable caſe, by which the Proteſtant may concede without danger; and the Roman Catholic receive, without hazard to the ſtate, or injury to the Proteſtants, collectively or individually.

In coming to an exhauſted ſubject, I am ſenſible of the many diſadvantages I have to encounter in addreſſing myſelf to the public, who have, in general, made up their minds on the great merits of the queſtion; and ſhall, therefore, ſtudy to be as conciſe as the ſubject will admit, and to avoid fatiguing my readers by repetitions, if I fail to give information on a queſtion of ſuch vaſt magnitude, that it offers almoſt boundleſs views to the inquiſitive mind. With this view, I ſhall proceed to

PART

PART I.

The Tranſactions in 1782, *reſpecting the Legiſlative Independence of the Iriſh Parliament.*

IN the ſpring of 1782, Lord North had been driven from the miniſtry, and ſucceeded by the Rockingham party; one of whoſe firſt objects, as ſoon as they had taken their ſeats, was, to call the attention of Parliament to the diſtractions and diſcontents of Ireland; for though ſhe had been gratified to her utmoſt wiſhes on commercial points, ſhe retained diſſatisfaction on conſtitutional queſtions; and loudly called for the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5. entitled, "An Act * for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," and which declared it to be the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to bind the kingdom of Ireland by laws made by the Britiſh Parliament.

On the 7th of April 1782, Mr. Secretary Fox delivered a Meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Commons, which was as follows:— 7th April 1782. King's Meſſage to Britiſh Parliament.

"GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty being concerned to find that diſcontents and jealouſies are prevailing among

* See Appendix, No. I.

his

his loyal ſubjects of Ireland upon matters of great weight and importance, earneſtly recommends to this Houſe to take the ſame into their *moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as may give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms.* G. R."

A ſimilar Meſſage was delivered to the Houſe of Lords; but for the future I ſhall only ſtate the proceedings of the one Houſe, except where there is any eſſential difference.

April 16th, 1782. Same Meſſage ſent by the Duke of Portland to the Iriſh Parliament.

Anſwer of Britiſh Parliament.

On the 14th day of April, the Duke of Portland ſucceeded Lord Carliſle in the government of Ireland; and on the 16th he ſent the ſame Meſſage *verbatim*, to the two Houſes of the Iriſh Parliament. In England, in anſwer to the King's Meſſage, a vote of thanks* had paſſed, with an aſſurance that the Houſe would proceed to take the ſame into their *moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment* as may give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms. In the Houſe of Commons of Ireland a ſimilar motion was made in preciſely the ſame terms; but here the uniformity ended, and in violation of Parliamentary order and form of proceeding, Mr. Grattan moved, That this Addreſs, the duplicate of that voted in England, be *expunged*; and in its ſtead, moved an Addreſs† to

* See Appendix, No. II. † See Appendix, No. V.

His Majeſty, ſtating the diſcontents and jealouſies in Ireland to ariſe from three points; the firſt, great, and principal cauſe to be the claim advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain in the 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5. to legiſlate for Ireland; the ſecond, the mode of paſſing laws in Ireland under the law known by the name of Poynings; and the third, a mutiny bill, unlimited in duration. Anſwer of Iriſh Parliament.

This Addreſs, moved with precipitation, was voted by acclamation; though on the 22d of February, not two months before, a ſimilar Addreſs, as to the firſt great and principal object, had been moved in the Houſe of Commons of Ireland by Mr. Grattan; and the conſideration put off to the 1ſt of Auguſt next, by a majority 137 to 68.

After the informality in the proceeding, and the departure from Parliamentary dignity and order by the haſty deciſion; inſtead of the *ſerious conſideration*, recommended by His Majeſty, and the example of the Britiſh Parliament; the next material point to be obſerved is, the departure from the *ſpecific object* of the King's Meſſage; *in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as may give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms*; and what makes this departure the more remark-

able is, that the object, a *final adjuſtment* *, is recogniſed in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, but entirely omitted in the Addreſs of the Commons, moved by Mr. Grattan.

Here, then, we have the moſt deciſive proof that can ariſe from internal evidence, that the *object* recommended by the King, and approved by the *Britiſh Parliament*, was a *final adjuſtment*, to which the whole was to be ſubſervient and concluſive; and that Mr. Grattan's object was to *avoid* a *final adjuſtment*. I can farther add, from knowledge, that the Duke of Portland ſaw, and diſapproved of the mode of proceeding as contrary to the King's Meſſage, and the object of the Miniſtry; though the impetuoſity with which the meaſure had been voted, without conſideration or previous concert, on the motion of Mr. Grattan, precluded conſideration, and rendered remonſtrance unavailing. Theſe Addreſſes, being tranſmitted to His Majeſty, were by Mr. Secretary Fox brought down to the Houſe of Commons on the 1ſt day of May, and laid on the table. On the 17th of May they were taken into the conſideration of a Committee of the whole Houſe, from which Mr. Powis reported two Reſolutions:

Iriſh Addreſs preſented to Parliament May 1.

Taken into conſideration May 17

* See Appendix, No. IV.

" 1ſt,

" 1ſt, That the Act of Geo. I. entitled, &c. ought to be repealed*. Reſolutions on ditto.

" 2d, That it is indiſpenſable to the intereſts and happineſs of both kingdoms that the connexion between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by mutual conſent, upon a ſolid and permanent baſis."

In theſe Reſolutions we find a farther confirmation, that the Britiſh Cabinet looked ſtill forwards to a *final adjuſtment*, by *mutual conſent*; otherwiſe, the ſecond Reſolution, which declared ſuch a meaſure *indiſpenſable* to the happineſs of both kingdoms, could have no object; for the only point claimed or demanded in the Addreſs of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons of April 16th, the repeal of the obnoxious Act of Geo. I. was ſecured by the firſt Reſolution. The reaſon why no notice is here taken of the two other grievances, Poyning's Law, and the unlimited Mutiny Bill, was, that the Parliament of Ireland, with the King's conſent, were competent to undo them; and their remonſtrances as to them, nugatory; the redreſs being *ſui juris*. But ſo far were the Britiſh Miniſtry from conſidering the repeal of the 6th Geo. I. as a *final adjuſtment*, that on the report from the Committee on the ſame day, May 17th, they ordered a Bill

* See Appendix, No. VI.

to be brought in to repeal the 6th Geo. I. and then voted an Addreſs * to His Majeſty, "That His Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as His Majeſty in his royal wiſdom ſhall think moſt conducive to the ESTABLISHING, by MUTUAL CONSENT, the CONNEXION BETWEEN THIS KINGDOM AND THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND, on a SOLID AND PERMANENT BASIS."

Addreſs to His Majeſty on the 2d Reſolution.

And His Majeſty, in his Meſſage † to the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, delivered on the 28th of May by Mr. Fitzpatrick, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in anſwer to their Addreſs of April 16, after ſtating his ſatisfaction to find the determination of his people of Ireland, to ſhare the fate of, and to ſtand or fall with the Britiſh nation, adds theſe remarkable words.:

King's Meſſage to Iriſh Parliament, in anſwer to their Addreſs of April 6, delivered May 28, 1782.

"His Majeſty conceives that theſe principles cannot fail to contribute to the accompliſhment of his earneſt deſire to remove all cauſes of diſcontent and jealouſy; with that view, His Majeſty has recommended this weighty and important ſubject to the *conſideration* of *his Parliaments* of *both Kingdoms*; truſting that their *united wiſdom* will ſuggeſt ſuch meaſures as

* See Appendix, No. VI. † See Appendix, No. VII.

may

may terminate in a FINAL ADJUSTMENT, to their mutual ſatisfaction."

Here it is to be remarked, that the ſubject of a *final adjuſtment* is urged in a ſtill more forcible manner than in the firſt Meſſage delivered from His Majeſty by the Duke of Portland, on the 16th of April; though on the day preceding this meſſage, the 27th of May, the Duke of Portland had from the throne ſignified to Parliament, that their Addreſſes had been received, and agreed to in every part.

But here ends the buſineſs of *final adjuſtment*; for in the Addreſſes of the two Houſes of the Iriſh Parliament, in anſwer to the Duke of Portland's Speech and the King's Meſſage, no notice is taken of His Majeſty's recommendation of this weighty and important ſubject, to the *conſideration of the Parliaments of both kingdoms*—though the Reſolution of the Britiſh Parliament of the 17th of May, that it was *indiſpenſable* to the intereſts of both kingdoms, &c. had been laid before them: but, inſtead of a correſponding Reſolution, which muſt have led to a FINAL SETTLEMENT; after thanking His Majeſty for the repeal of the 6 Geo. I. and his agreeing to the mode deſired of paſſing bills, and a new Mutiny Act—this ſingular declaration

Addreſs, Commons of Ireland to the King, May 28, 1782.

tion was ſubſtituted, as a *bar to* SETTLEMENT *: Gratified in theſe particulars, " we do aſſure your Majeſty, that no conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations will any longer exiſt, which can interrupt their harmony."

It is here obſervable, that the limitation, purpoſely introduced, confines the ſatisfaction to *conſtitutional points*—the Parliament of Ireland accepting the repeal of 6 Geo. I. the ſubſtance of the firſt Reſolution of the Britiſh Parliament of May 17, but avoiding to give any other anſwer to the great and important object recommended by His Majeſty in the ſecond; which is there expreſsly declared to be, the *eſtabliſhing*, by *mutual conſent*, the *connexion between the two kingdoms upon a ſolid and permanent baſis*, which they did by that ſingular declaration, " that, gratified in theſe particulars, *no conſtitutional queſtions between the two nations will any longer exiſt, that can interrupt their harmony.*"

Mr. Grattan's Speech.

Mr. Grattan †, in his late ſpeech in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons (p. 4), expreſsly admits this to have been the caſe; his words are: " The next part of the adjuſtment was *a reſolution* voted by the two Britiſh Houſes of Parliament, in conſequence of the Addreſs of April 16, to

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

† The Speech (at length) of the Honourable Mr Grattan. Printed by A. Paris, for J. S. Jordan.

His Majeſty. There were two reſolutions tranſmitted; firſt, that the 6th of Geo. I. &c. ſhould be repealed; ſecond, that the connexion between the countries ſhould be placed, by mutual conſent, on a ſolid and permanent foundation." He then ſtates the Addreſs of the two Iriſh Houſes of Parliament upon theſe two Reſolutions; "which Addreſs *," he ſays, "does, among other things, accept of the propoſition contained in the firſt Reſolution, *and does expreſsly reject the ſecond*; for it ſays, that we conceive the Reſolution for the unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6 Geo. I. to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſdom."

1ſt Reſolution accepted.
2d Reſolution rejected.

Now without ſtopping to examine the juſtneſs of this reaſon, aſſigned for the rejection of the ſecond Reſolution; or to inquire in what manner the unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6 Geo. I. which they conceived to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſdom, could operate as an inducement to *reject*; or be aſſigned as a reaſon for *rejecting* the ſecond Reſolution, the object of which was, to *eſtabliſh the connexion between the two kingdoms* on a *ſolid and permanent baſis*; I am ſtill more at a loſs to diſcover, by what logic this *unqualified, unconditional* repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. can, now,

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

be

be converted into *a ſolemn contract*, a *final ſettlement*, a *great national arrangement*; when Mr. Grattan has juſt told us, that the repeal was *unconditional* and *unqualified*; and that the Iriſh Parliament *rejected* the ſecond Reſolution for a *ſettlement*, and *refuſed* to *treat*. And yet this Mr. Grattan does not heſitate to do, in a ſubſequent paragraph, for he thus goes on, p. 5: "I drew that Addreſs, and I introduced thoſe words, expreſsly, to exclude any SUBSEQUENT *qualifications* or *limitations* affecting, &c." The Addreſs adds, "Gratified in thoſe particulars, no conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations will any longer exiſt" (which he calls the *clauſe of finality*). He has here omitted the concluſion of the ſentence, *that can diſturb their harmony*; for, thus defined, *his finality* has proved of ſhort duration.

But the next paragraph is where Mr. Grattan reſts his principal arguments for inferring a final adjuſtment: I will give his own words.

"The next part was the *meaſure* adopted by the Engliſh Parliament, upon the conſideration of *this Addreſs* *: and in that meaſure, they accede to that Addreſs entirely and unequivocally; they embrace *our propoſition* of unconditional

* Addreſs of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons of May 28.

and

and unequivocal repeal, and they accordingly introduced a bill for that purpoſe; and thus they cloſed the FINAL ADJUSTMENT."

Here is Mr. Grattan's own account of this famous FINAL ADJUSTMENT, on which we remark,

Firſt, That he ſtates the meaſure to have been adopted by the Engliſh Parliament, upon the conſideration of *this Addreſs* *; which Addreſs they never ſaw or had any knowledge of; for, beſides that His Majeſty, for obvious reaſons, did not think proper to lay it before them, the Addreſs was voted on the 28th of May, eleven days after the Reſolutions which Mr. Grattan ſtates to have been in conſequence of it. And it was an Addreſs of thanks to His Majeſty, for this meaſure of conſummate wiſdom and juſtice, which Mr. Grattan, *now*, ſays the Addreſs produced.

Second, The ſervice of cloſing this final adjuſtment is here transferred to the Britiſh Parliament; though Mr. Grattan has declared above, that the Addreſs *rejected* their *ſecond Reſolution* for a *final adjuſtment*, and that the Addreſs itſelf, as drawn by him, expreſsly excluded *any ſubſequent qualifications*, or *limitations*, &c.

* Of May 28.

It is certainly very unneceſſary to ſay any thing farther to ſhow the abſurdity of converting an *unconditional* repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. into a *final adjuſtment*; particularly, when one of the parties had *rejected* the offer made by the other for coming to a *final adjuſtment*; and in a manner too, not a little ſuſpicious, after the honourable proceeding of the Britiſh Parliament, in the unconditional repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. which they had vainly hoped would produce correſpondent ſentiments on the part of Ireland. But in this expectation they were diſappointed, and they were obliged to accept the general profeſſions of gratitude, affection, and attachment, inſtead of a *final adjuſtment*, which had been rejected on the part of Ireland.

Mr. Grattan goes on, p. 6.—"The next inſtrument was an Addreſs to His Majeſty, to beſeech him to appoint a day of public thankſgiving for the accompliſhment of theſe great objects, as well as for his victories. Thus it appears *, that whatever idea might have been conceived in the ſecond Reſolution of the 17th of May 1782, it was totally and entirely aban-

* How this *does* appear from appointing a thankſgiving, I do not know. It is vain to dive into the myſtery of great ſtateſmen. They have modes of conception and expreſſion, peculiar to themſelves.

doned:

doned; the Miniſter of that time probably intended to make the beſt bargain he could for England, and therefore conceived it eligible to condition and qualify the acknowledgment of the independency of the Iriſh Parliament by certain proviſions reſpecting navigation, &c.; but finding that the Iriſh Parliament would accept of nothing but the unqualified and unconditional repeal, he dropt the fruitleſs idea."

Second Reſolution of Britiſh Parliament.

From this we learn that Mr. Grattan imagined the ſecond Reſolution to relate to an agreement on a commercial regulation; which appears the more probable, as I find, that, at the cloſe of the next Seſſion, the Iriſh Houſe of Commons revived the ſubject in an Addreſs to the Duke of Rutland, then Lord Lieutenant, in theſe words:

Reſumed by Iriſh Parliament in 1784, May 12.

"We are aware of the ſituation of the empire, and the peculiar circumſtances which have *prevented* the *adjuſtment* of ſome points *which concern our trade* and manufactures; and we rely upon the readineſs of your Grace's liberal and benevolent aſſiſtance for the furtherance of ſuch practical meaſures as deliberate wiſdom and generous policy may adapt to our real neceſſities and general intereſts."

The Houſe of Commons, by recurring to

Duke of Rutland's Anſwer.

adjuſtment in 1784, ſhows that it was not accompliſhed in 1782. But the Duke of Rutland's Anſwer to this Addreſs at the opening of the next Seſſion renders it ſtill plainer; for he ſays, "I am to recommend to your *earneſt inveſtigation* thoſe objects of trade and commerce which have not yet received their *final adjuſtment*."

We have ſeen that Mr. Grattan had ſaid above, that it was the Britiſh Parliament that cloſed the *final adjuſtment*, the propoſition for which, his Addreſs had rejected. He goes on, p. 7: "I think I have now ſhown from the records quoted, that the argument of the *Miniſter* is againſt the expreſs letter, the evident meaning, and honeſt ſenſe of this *final ſettlement*; and I repeat, that *finality* was not only a part of the ſettlement, but one of its principal objects: *Finality was the principal object of his country, as Legiſlative Independency was the object of ours.* Ireland wiſhed to ſeize the moment of her ſtrength, for the eſtabliſhment of her liberties. The Court of England wiſhed to conclude the operations of that ſtrength, and bound its progreſs."

Here Mr. Grattan has avowed the truth, and unequivocally declared, that the object of Britain was *final adjuſtment*, as *legiſlative independency* was the object of Ireland. That Ireland

ſeized

ſeized the moment of her ſtrength to ſnatch her object, while an illiberal diſtruſt made her reject the invitation to a final ſettlement: the motive aſſigned to the Court of England, viz. a wiſh to conclude the operations of Iriſh ſtrength and bound its progreſs, becauſe ſhe had paſſed a Reſolution to eſtabliſh the connexion between the two kingdoms by mutual conſent, on a ſolid and permanent baſis; is not only founded in ſuſpicion and injuſtice; but it accounts for the rejection of this beneficial meaſure, on principles that reflect no honour on the generoſity and good ſenſe of thoſe, for whoſe conduct it is aſſigned as the motive.

Mr. Grattan here rejects the *finality* on the part of Ireland, and aſcribes it excluſively to the Britiſh Miniſter and the Britiſh nation, as he had formerly ſtated that the Britiſh Parliament cloſed the *final ſettlement* by the repeal of the 6th Geo. I. * But unfortunately for Mr. Grattan's memory, even as to the *final adjuſtment* of the ſingle point, he is not correct; for the Britiſh Parliament thought it adviſable, early in 1783, to introduce a new Bill † to *remove the doubts* that had ariſen on the repeal of 1782, which he aſſerts to have been a *final adjuſtment*. If it was a *final adjuſtment*, the

Declaratory Act, moved Jan. 22, 1783.

* See Appendix, No. XI. † See Appendix, No. XII.

Act

Act of 1783 was a *final adjuſtment* of the *final adjuſtment* of 1782.

I am aſhamed to trace ſuch contradictions; but what honeſt man but muſt feel indignant at the ſhallow attempts now made to conjure up the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. into a *final ſettlement*, when the very propoſition for a final ſettlement had been *rejected*, as Mr. Grattan tells us, by the Iriſh Parliament, at the time; though repeatedly recommended from the Throne to their ſerious conſideration, as indiſpenſable to the intereſts and proſperity of both kingdoms; and ſtill more to impute that *final adjuſtment* to the Britiſh Parliament, whoſe advances to eſtabliſh it by mutual conſent, had been ſtudiouſly eluded by the Iriſh Parliament at the inſtigation of Mr. Grattan himſelf.

From the moment that this memorable Addreſs paſſed, on the 28th of May, the final adjuſtment was dropt in the Parliamentary proceedings; and accordingly, in His Majeſty's Anſwer to this Addreſs *, the object is omitted, as well as in the Lord Lieutenant's †, where the Duke of Portland expreſſes, "That he ſhall think himſelf fortunate if his adminiſtration ſhould

His Majeſty's Anſwer to Iriſh Addreſs of May 28th.

Duke of Portland's Anſwer to Iriſh Addreſs of May 28th.

* See Appendix, No. IX. † See Appendix, No. XI.

prove *the æra of reciprocal and inſeparable affection* between Great Britain and Ireland." For ſince the proſpect of a public arrangement was ſuſpended, it was prudent to make the moſt of the hollow profeſſions ſubſtituted in its ſtead.

Such a line of conduct will appear highly judicious in His Grace, if we advert to the ſtate of the public mind in Ireland at the time; for no ſooner had His Grace announced from the Throne the Reſolutions of the Britiſh Parliament of May 17th, for the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. (the other Reſolution was paſſed over in ſilence), than a tranſport of joy pervaded the whole kingdom; public rejoicings, illuminations, votes of thanks and addreſſes to the Lord Lieutenant came in from every quarter; while copious libations were daily poured out on every feſtive altar to Henry Grattan, the ſaviour of his country. Nor was the Parliament leſs fervent in expreſſing their ſatisfaction: an Addreſs for a public thankſgiving; 5000 men from the military eſtabliſhment were voted for foreign ſervice; 100,000*l.* for the national object of bounties to ſeamen; and a like ſum was propoſed, which Government were glad to compromiſe by 50,000*l.* voted, to buy a houſe and lands for Mr. Grattan.

It will be allowed that this was not the moment to oppoſe the popular tide, and that nothing remained but to endeavour to direct the public enthuſiaſm to the uſeful purpoſes of attachment to the Crown, and affection to Great Britain. But this fervour was too violent to laſt; it proved a feveriſh heat, and not the pulſe of health and ſtrength. Mr. Grattan's triumph was of ſhort duration; he found the Treaſury Bench was not a bed of roſes; elated by popularity, he was unable to endure the ſarcaſtic attacks of his inveterate rival, Mr. Flood, who now ſucceſsfully played on him the artillery of abuſe and declamation which he had formerly practiſed with ſuch ſucceſs on the ſervants of the Crown. Though Mr. Grattan was ſupported in the Parliament, Mr. Flood had the addreſs to perſuade the nation that the *ſimple repeal* was inſufficient; that they had been betrayed, and ſold to the Caſtle by Mr. Grattan; and it was even inſinuated that Great Britain had acted inſidiouſly by retaining the claim of right, to be employed on a future occaſion, and to be brought forward at a favourable opportunity to impoſe freſh chains on Ireland.

Diſcontents in Ireland renewed.

The *ſimple repeal*, and its *author*, ſo lately the idols of public enthuſiaſm, were loaded with contumely and invective; and reſolutions for a *decla-*

a *declaratory law* on the part of Great Britain, flowed from every quarter of the kingdom. In vain did Mr. Grattan aſſert, that nothing more remained to be done; in vain did he, in an Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant of July 23d, introduce the recapitulation of the ſeveral beneficial laws paſſed that ſeſſion, which, for the occaſion, he ventured to call a *great nationdl arrangement*; the public were not only deaf to his arguments, but loaded him with abuſe. It was during this period that Lord Shelburne, who had now ſucceeded the Marquis of Rockingham as Miniſter in England, and General Fitzpatrick in Ireland, declared, "That it was not the intention of Miniſtry to bring forward any thing more on this ſubject: nor indeed could they, after the rejection of the ſecond Reſolution of the Britiſh Parliament for a final adjuſtment; though it appears by the Duke of Portland's Correſpondence*, read by Mr. Pitt in the Houſe of Commons laſt April, that the Duke never loſt ſight of the ſecond Reſolution, nor omitted an opportunity of ſhowing the then popular leaders the neceſſity of the meaſure; and that Lord Shelburne ſtrongly approved, and ardently deſired the accompliſhment of the object.

Declaratory law.

Lord Shelburne's Declaration, and General Fitzpatrick's Declaration.

* See Appendix, No. XIII.

The jealouſies and diſcontents of Ireland, huſhed for a ſhort interval, but not removed, now raged with increaſing violence; the incipient harmony, whoſe *electric* irradiations had ſpread a momentary gleam over the gloomy horizon of Ireland, was once more overcaſt, and threatened an approaching ſtorm, when the good ſenſe of Great Britain again condeſcended to avert its exploſion by a temperate acquieſcence. The declaratory law, moved by Lord Grenville, then Mr. W. Grenville, was paſſed; and *then*, and not till *then*, did the Britiſh Parliament cloſe the adjuſtment of the firſt of their own Reſolutions of May 17th, 1782, for the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. leaving the ſecond, the eſtabliſhing the connexion between the two kingdoms on a ſolid and permanent baſis, to be ſettled hereafter.

Temperate conduct of Great Britain. Declaratory Act.

2d Reſolution, baſis of Incorporate Union.

On this Reſolution has the meaſure of an Incorporated Union been propoſed, which, in as far as it has for its object the eſtabliſhing the connexion between the two kingdoms on a ſolid and permanent baſis, muſt be allowed to embrace and fully comprehend the ſenſe and meaning of the Reſolution. Whether this be the *mode* that the Miniſter of the day had in view at the time it was moved, it is perfectly immaterial to inquire; if that mode had been made public, which I believe it never was, it

could in no wiſe have carried with it any obligation on the preſent Miniſter to adopt it; the Miniſter who ſtands charged with the reſponſibility, has an undoubted right to chooſe the mode in which he incurs that reſponſibility; and when he has ſubmitted his mode to diſcuſſion, it is open to every objection, alteration, &c. But I think differently of the principle, as it is neceſſary to ſhow a departure from that principle to juſtify an oppoſition to the meaſure now propoſed, on the part of thoſe who moved that Reſolution, which was voted *nemine contradicente*, and which now ſtands the recorded ſenſe of Parliament.

I have dwelt on this part longer than I originally intended, but I hope it will not be without its uſe; Miniſters will ſee from it on what a ſlippery baſis public opinion reſts; how evaneſcent in its duration, how giddy in its deciſions. The people, if they were neither miſled by miſrepreſentation, nor agitated by national paſſions, early prejudices, and local habits, are incapable of forming any rational judgment on great conſtitutional queſtions and political arrangements. Was there ever yet an inſtance of any great improvement in agriculture, of any uſeful diſcovery in manufactures or the arts, that, if it deviated from the eſtabliſhed routine, did not meet with the

moſt obſtinate and inveterate oppoſition from the very perſons for whoſe benefit it was intended? What riots and diſorders has not the introduction of machinery occaſioned among our manufacturers? What national benefits and improvements had not been loſt, if popular clamour on theſe occaſions had prevailed over more enlightened ideas? Man is the creature of habit, and the ſlave to prejudice; and where theſe are thwarted, time alone can reconcile, and experience convince. What reaſon has the Miniſter to expect that county meetings, town halls, or corporation dinners, are competent to decide on the reſults and bearings of a queſtion of ſuch magnitude as the Union? But, if all the exertions that have been uſed to influence their predominant paſſions of national pride, to arouſe their deep-rooted prejudices of jealouſy of Great Britain, and the Engliſh Miniſtry, have created a far leſs agitation and ferment than a variety of unimportant objects have frequently produced; he may fairly conclude, that the ſenſe of the Iriſh nation is not adverſe to the meaſure; though nothing but its actual effects can prove to them the manifold benefits and bleſſings with which it will be attended.

Recapitulation.

Before I quit this firſt part of my ſubject, I ſhall briefly recapitulate the material circumſtances

ſtances of the tranſactions relative to the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. in 1782.

Firſt, The King recommended to the ſerious conſideration of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, to inquire into the cauſes of the jealouſies and diſcontents that then prevailed in Ireland, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment, as may give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms.

Second, The Parliament of Great Britain, in anſwer, reſolved to take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſideration for the purpoſe recommended from the Throne.

Third, The Iriſh Parliament declared, in anſwer, the great and principal cauſe of jealouſy and diſcontent to be, the claim of legiſlating for Ireland, ſupported by the 6th of Geo. I. ch. 5. of which they demanded the repeal, but entirely paſſed by the purport of the King's Meſſage, a *final adjuſtment*, which might give ſatisfaction to both kingdoms.

Fourth, The Britiſh Parliament, having taken the Iriſh Addreſſes into conſideration, came to two reſolutions, May 17: 1. To repeal the 6th of Geo. I.; and, 2. To addreſs His Majeſty to take ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould deem expedient

expedient for eſtabliſhing the connexion between the two kingdoms on a ſolid and permanent baſis.

Fifth, When theſe Reſolutions were communicated with a Meſſage from His Majeſty to the Iriſh Parliament, they moved an Addreſs, May 28, expreſſing their ſatisfaction, but declining the invitation to eſtabliſh the connexion between the two kingdoms, on a ſolid and permanent baſis.

Sixth, The Parliament of Great Britain repealed the Act 6th of Geo. I. ch. 5.; and the ſecond Reſolution for a final ſettlement remained unaccompliſhed.

Seventh, This repeal reſtored to the Parliament of Ireland the powers it poſſeſſed before the 6th of Geo. I. It conferred the *ſole* power of legiſlating for Ireland, unconditionally and without reſtriction, and the Declaratory Law of the next year renounced the *claim of right*, aſſerted in the 6th of Geo. I. on the part of the Britiſh Parliament, to legiſlate for Ireland.

Eighth, The repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. can in no ſenſe be properly called a *final ſettlement*, a *final arrangement*, or a *final adjuſtment*; for, even to the *ſingle* and *ſpecific* object, it was not

not *final*; much leſs can the repeal of a Britiſh ſtatute by the Britiſh Parliament, the object of which was to give up the right claimed by that Act to legiſlate for Ireland, impoſe on the Parliament of that kingdom any *diſability*, or *incapacity*, in the exerciſe of their legiſlative authority. If the Parliament of Ireland be, now, under any ſuch incapacity, it cannot poſſibly be ſo in conſequence of this tranſaction, for that would be aſſerting it to be ſtill *dependent*, after being declared to be *independent* of the Britiſh Parliament; and converting *incapacity* and *independence* into ſynonimous terms, ſo that no argument for the incapacity of the Iriſh Parliament to treat for an Union, can be inferred from the tranſactions of 1782.

Eighth, Whatever engagement the Parliament of Great Britain is competent to contract for Great Britain, the Parliament of Ireland is equally competent to contract for the kingdom of Ireland. As to legiſlative powers for their reſpective kingdoms, they ſtand on preciſely the ſame footing: I defy any man to point out any real difference; the queſtion of Parliamentary competence ſtands, of courſe, on the ſame footing, in both kingdoms; and being now univerſally admitted in Great Britain, it muſt be ſo in Ireland.

I ſhall now proceed to

PART

PART II.

The preſent Connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

I HAVE hitherto confined our attention to the ſtatement of the proceedings of the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, in reſpect to the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. It will be now very material to give a ſlight view of the temper of Ireland at the time, with a few circumſtances that preceded; in order to enable us to form a more correct judgment of the conſequences that have followed that tranſaction, which will ever ſtand a memorable æra in the hiſtory of Ireland.

View of Ireland.

From the acceſſion of His preſent Majeſty, Ireland had begun to riſe into increaſing conſequence; a ſpirit of improvement was eagerly exerted, and had made a conſiderable progreſs in agriculture, which had before been almoſt, if not entirely, neglected; great attention had been paid to open roads and conſtruct canals; and induſtry and manufactures began to ſhow themſelves; when the American war unfortunately gave a check to all the infant inſtitutions, and occaſioned great diſtreſs in a country,

Acceſſion of His preſent Majeſty.

Spirit of improvement,

checked by the American war.

country, where the little capital they had been poſſeſſed of, had not yet produced returns to enable them to ſupport the ſhock.

Together with this ſpirit of improvement, a ſpirit of political inquiry and improvement of the conſtitution had gone abroad; the relative ſituation of the two kingdoms had been diſcuſſed; the impolicy and injuſtice of the commercial and conſtitutional reſtraints, impoſed by Great Britain on Ireland, had been reprobated and condemned; a very general diſſatisfaction had pervaded the kingdom, when the American war broke out, *rapuitque in fomite flammam.* There had been, at all times, a conſiderable degree of intercourſe between the Cromwellian Diſſenters in the North, and the Independents of New England; a common cauſe now drew the connexion cloſer, and the ſucceſs of America was eagerly anticipated, as the favourable moment to give effect to the claims of Ireland. The opportunity was accordingly ſeized with vigour; the People complained, the Volunteers reſolved, the Parliament remonſtrated; and Great Britain, taught wiſdom by the experience of America, complied with their demands. If the conduct of Great Britain towards Ireland had hitherto been impolitic and indefenſible; it muſt be allowed that, on this occaſion, it was generous and liberal;

Conſequences.

Diſcontents.

Commercial and conſtitutional reſtraints.

Republicans in the North.

Conduct of Great Britain.

beral; though Ireland aſcribed this change of ſyſtem to the weakneſs of Great Britain, and her own ſtrength, at the moment; and the extenſion of her trade in 1778 and 1779, as well as the grant of *free trade* in 1780, were received rather as acts of reſtitution, than of favour: inſomuch that, in 1782, the jealouſies and diſcontents ran higher than ever; and though they were ſuſpended for a ſhort interval by the repeal of the obnoxious Act, they ſoon burſt out with freſh vigour, and raged with increaſed force; ſo that when the Declaratory Act, which had been regarded as the cauſe of the ferment, was actually paſſed by the Britiſh Parliament, they were ſurpriſed to find, that it excited no ſenſe of obligation, produced no expreſſion of ſatisfaction. The public mind had been *fooled to the bent*; the elaſtic power, that ſhould have reſtored cordiality and affection to Great Britain, was gone; and diffidence and diſtruſt, the parents of every diſcordant paſſion, had uſurped their place.

Freſh diſcontents. Suſpended.

Break out again.

Diffidence, &c.

In 1785 theſe hoſtile diſpoſitions took the alarm at the appearance of engagement with Great Britain, or a ſocial compact for identity, in public tranſactions with foreign ſtates; and for the regulation of commerce. In 1789 they ſtimulated to a line of conduct, different to that of the Britiſh Parliament. They have ſince

Exemplified in 1785,

in 1789,

in 1798,

ſown

ſown the ſeeds of inſurrection and rebellion; and they, at this moment, are labouring, with undiminiſhed acrimony, to prevent an Union of the two kingdoms; which their baneful operations, and fatal effects, have rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary; as the only meaſure capable to eradicate and extinguiſh them for ever. in 1800.

This is the great inducement for an Incorporate Union; the neceſſity for which meaſure will appear confirmed by every view of the preſent connexion between the two kingdoms; as well as from the internal ſtate of Ireland itſelf. Inducement to Union.

But before I proceed, I muſt not omit the opportunity of paying my tribute of approbation to the Volunteer Aſſociations of Ireland, who had been at firſt ſet on foot and encouraged by the very men who foſtered republican principles in the American war; and who have been the apoſtles of Jacobiniſm, ſince the French Revolution. On the former occaſion, their projects of inſurrection were diſappointed by the firmneſs of the very men, whom they hoped to have made the engines of their deſperate views. The Volunteers of Ireland preſerved internal peace; by their example and conduct, they introduced order and ſubordination; they reſpected and executed the laws, in Volunteers of Ireland.

a manner that has never been ſeen in Ireland, either before or ſince: conſcious of their own ſtrength, they did not abuſe it. If they intimidated the Britiſh Miniſter, they were formidable only to the enemies of their King and their country; vigorous, and ſometimes violent in their reſolutions, but always temperate in their conduct.

Neither would I impute any criminal intention to thoſe very men, who obſtructed a final ſettlement between the two kingdoms in 1782; for, at the moment that they *talked to* their countrymen of the inſeparable intereſts of the two kingdoms, and profeſſed attachment and affection; it was plain that they were the ſlaves of the meaneſt diſtruſt and jealouſy, which prevented them from ſubmitting their claims to a final adjuſtment; even with their own friends. Thoſe whom they truſted as men, they diſtruſted as Engliſhmen.

Another reaſon that might have, in part, contributed to ſo extraordinary a conduct, may have been, that they were no ſooner raiſed to the Miniſtry, and enjoyed the confidence of Government, than they found that they had loſt the confidence of the people. And, when they afterwards attempted to direct the people, and told them to be ſatisfied, and to ſtop demand;

Danger of exciting the people.

mand; they were treated as traitors and betrayers of their country, they were overborn by the popular torrent, and then found how dangerous it is to excite the people, and how impoſſible for any man, or ſet of men, to ſtop their courſe, when they have been excited, and put in motion, or to pretend to ſay, So far ſhall ye go, and no farther. Let the men, who now excite to reſiſtance, take an uſeful leſſon from the events of 1782, ſtill more, from the more recent fate of the leaders of the French Revolution; twenty-one of whom were, in one morning, ſent to the guillotine, for attempting to check the ſanguinary ferocity of their former aſſociate Robeſpierre.

Perhaps, too, the period had not, then, arrived for a permanent arrangement between the two kingdoms; that the overweening conceit and national pride engendered by what was ſtyled a victory achieved over Great Britain, was not a period favourable for treaty. Perhaps it was decreed, by the all-wiſe Diſpoſer of human events, that popular extravagance ſhould run its natural courſe to anarchy and confuſion; that the *inſufficiency* of the boaſted meaſure of *Parliamentary Independence* ſhould be *recorded*, to all ages, *in indelible characters of blood*; in order to pave the way for the meaſure of *Union*; by which the wounds of a bleeding country

country may be healed, and peace and order, proſperity and ſecurity, be eſtabliſhed to ſucceeding generations.

Iriſh Independence.

Great inconveniencies have, at all times, ariſen from the inaccuracy of language, and the abuſe of terms; and I know no inſtance, where greater miſchiefs have flowed from this ſource, than in the practical conſtructions given to the

Abuſe of the term.

term *Iriſh Independence*; which, in its only juſt ſenſe, was confined to the independent power of Parliament to legiſlate for that kingdom; but has, ſince, been ſtrained, by the cabals of factious and deſigning men, to every purpoſe of inſubordination, ſedition, and inſurrection. It has been made a cover for every crime; and a juſtification of every wild pretenſion, advanced in defiance of law, to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the deſtruction of government.

But, with all theſe fatal conſequences before my eyes, I do not recommend the deſtruction of the power, as a corrective of the abuſe: I do not wiſh Iriſh independence to be aboliſhed, but to be *merged* in an Union, from which it would derive additional ſtrength and vigour; and be ſo blended and incorporated, as to preſerve all its healthful and ſalutary qualities; diveſted of the poiſonous and deleterious ſhoots,

that

that have ſprung from its roots, or grown up under its ſhade.

This naturally leads me back to the preſent object of inquiry, the political ſituation of Ireland—firſt, as dependent on the Crown of England; and, ſecond, as connected with Great Britain. Preſent ſtate of Ireland.

The kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ſtand, as two diſtinct branches of one empire or ſtate; with ſeparate and independent Parliaments, and the ſame common King, or Executive Power. Firſt, as dependent on the Crown of Great Britain.

Without wandering back to the darker ages of Iriſh hiſtory, under its hundreds of kings and princes, or inquiring whether Henry the Second's title aroſe from conqueſt or compact; it is ſufficient to ſay, that the legal right of the Engliſh Crown to the dominion of Ireland, now reſts on the Act of Annexation in the reign of Henry VIII. In theory, no right can be more ſimple or more complete. In practice, whenever doubts and diſagreements have come to iſſue, the queſtion has ever been, as it ever muſt be, decided by an appeal to arms. By the Act of Annexation.

Since the year 1782, we behold two kingdoms, with one King or Executive Power; in whoſe

whoſe hands the Conſtitution has placed the right of making war and peace; of entering into treaties, and forming alliances with foreign ſtates. The *unity* of government is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the exiſtence of every ſtate. If there exiſts in the ſame ſtate, a power to accept, and another power to reject; there may be a temporary acquieſcence on the ſame ſubjects; but there can be no *ſecurity* for the continuance of this *unity* of action, on which the exiſtence of the ſtate itſelf depends. There would be an inherent vice in ſuch a conſtitution which no corrective could reach.

Unity of powers

This vice actually exiſts in the preſent connexion of Great Britain and Ireland, where two Parliaments, poſſeſſed of independent powers, are to judge and decide on the meaſures of the ſame Executive Government and the common intereſts of the State. If we were to admit, what is by no means the caſe, where a diſtinct and ſeparate exiſtence muſt create a difference of local intereſts, that the great and true intereſts of theſe two kingdoms ſhould be always the ſame; who can pretend to ſay, that their *ſeparate Parliaments* ſhall be, on all occaſions, actuated by their great and *real* intereſts? Popular aſſemblies are ſubject to a variety of paſſions capable to occaſion a deviation, from a thouſand cauſes; and any one of theſe may

inconſiſtent with two Parliaments.

operate a diſagreement, which might ultimately deſtroy their connexion. If we would preſerve the State, this vice muſt be removed; and there is but one poſſible mode, in which it can be removed; which is by reducing the *two* deliberative powers into *one*; and thus conſtituting an *Unity* in the Legiſlative Power, as in the Executive. Removed, by Union.

If it be alleged that this inconvenience has not yet happened, and that it is not likely to happen; I anſwer, that the acknowledged weakneſs and inferiority of Ireland, dependent on Great Britain on all occaſions, for protection; and by habit, accuſtomed to ſubmit to ſubordination; has hitherto preſerved the connexion: and in moſt caſes, ſecured an unity in the exerciſe of their different powers. But theſe cauſes have either entirely ceaſed, or are daily loſing their force, and changing the courſe of their operation ſince the year 1782, and the independence of the Iriſh Parliament.

The prerogative of the Crown is conſtitutionally ſubmitted to the control of Parliament; but cannot be under the control of *two different Parliaments*; without contradiction and diſunion; except theſe two Parliaments could always be of the ſame mind: and who ſhall pretend to give aſſurance of their being ſo? It Prerogative of the Crown,

is at leaſt equally probable, that *two free agents* may differ in opinion; and between kingdoms, what muſt be the conſequence? A as to peace. treaty of peace may be approved in Great Britain, and rejected in Ireland: is Great Britain to conclude a peace, and Ireland to continue at war? or, is the abſurdity ſo manifeſt, as to compel the advocates for Iriſh Independence to confeſs, that, in ſuch a caſe, the Iriſh Parliament muſt, of courſe, abandon the exerciſe of their powers, and adopt the proceeding of Great Britain?

I will illuſtrate this ſtill farther by another ſuppoſition, and put the caſe, that the Britiſh Parliament had diſapproved the articles of a treaty, ſubmitted to their conſideration, and that it ſhould be rejected in conſequence. Would the independent Parliament of Ireland expect, that the rejected treaty ſhould be ſubmitted to their conſideration? or would they, in ſuch a caſe, ſubmit to have their deciſion concluded by the vote of the Britiſh Parliament? If the Miniſtry in 1783 had been deſperate enough to appeal from the Britiſh Parliament to the Iriſh Parliament, inſtead of giving way, the caſe might actually have occurred, and might have produced very ſerious conſequences.

But

But the caſe of war will appear infinitely ſtronger, and I will give it in the words of Mr. Foſter, who has reduced the effect as low as it could poſſibly be ſtated; but ſtill it will be found to involve conſequences of the moſt calamitous kind. "Suppoſe," ſays that Gentleman, "the Britiſh Parliament to approve a war, and that Ireland ſhould diſapprove; the *only* difficulty which this difference of ſentiment could create, would be, that the one who diſapproved, might withhold its ſupplies, until good ſenſe ſhould induce it to acquieſce." and war.

So far we muſt allow that Mr. Foſter conſiders the ſubject, rather as a financier, than as a ſtateſman. The ſtopping the ſupplies would undoubtedly be the firſt conſequence of ſuch diſapprobation; but the infallible conſequence of withholding the ſupplies, on ſuch a ground, muſt be a ſeparation of the two kingdoms, or an armed conteſt; which muſt end with the loſs of liberty to one of the two, and could not fail of producing the greateſt calamities to both.

If, in this preſent war with France, the Parliament had refuſed the ſupplies, would not ſuch a refuſal have been viewed, by Great Britain, as an act of hoſtility? Situated as Ireland is, is it poſſible for her to preſerve a neutrality,

while England is engaged in war? She muſt have made her option between Great Britain and France. But the conſequences of a connexion with France have been ſo ably delineated by Lord Minto, from page 60 to page 68 of his Speech, that I had much rather refer to it, than injure the cauſe by a feeble attempt at imitation.

It would be injuſtice to the Parliament of Ireland, not to acknowledge that her conduct, during the preſent conteſt, has been irreproachable; and much freer from violence and inflammatory declamations than for many years before. But may not this have been in a great meaſure owing, partly to every juſt cauſe of complaint being removed, and partly to ſome of the moſt violent Members in former Parliaments having, in conſequence, withdrawn themſelves from this? On a future occaſion, might not this caſe be reverſed, and a combination of factious and ambitious innovators influence the Parliament to an oppoſite conduct?

Britiſh Cabinet.

The circumſtance of the King of Ireland reſiding in England, and acting in that capacity under the advice of a Britiſh Cabinet, ever has been, and continues to be, more and more every

Great Seal.

day, a ſource of jealouſy to Ireland; as the Great Seal of Britain, being neceſſary to legalize the Acts

Acts of the Iriſh Parliament, is felt as a mark of inferiority, galling to the pride and pretenſions of her now independent condition.

If theſe circumſtances are impatiently ſubmitted to, at the preſent moment; will they not operate with increaſing force as Ireland advances in wealth, ſtrength, and conſequence? Is it not in the nature of the human mind to aſpire to Equality? Circumſtances tending to ſeparation.

Nil actum putans, dum quid ſupereſſet agendum.

Indeed the hiſtory of Ireland, for the laſt thirty-five years, would exhibit but one continued political conflict with Great Britain; in which conceſſion has inceſſantly bred new demand; and, when Great Britain had nothing farther to grant to allay the craving of this inſatiate appetite, ſhe herſelf became the grievance, and Ireland flew to arms to rid herſelf of Britiſh connexion. The individuals who, during this period, have occaſionally excited this ſpirit in the people, have in their turns expreſſed perfect ſatisfaction with the liberal conduct of Great Britain; but they have never been able to ſtop the current of jealouſy and diſſatisfaction which they had contributed to raiſe, and which, imperceptibly but invariably, has been carrying the kingdom of Ireland from Britiſh connexion; and if not counteracted by an Incorporate Union, muſt, certainly, and moſt

moſt probably at no very diſtant period, terminate in total ſeparation.

Theſe are ſome of the circumſtances, that tend to ſeparation; ariſing from the *dependence* of *Ireland* on the *Crown* of England. I ſhall now proceed to view her as *connected* in commercial tranſactions with Great Britain; where the neceſſity of Union will appear ſtill more apparent for the regulation of trade; which is now become a moſt important object to the kingdom at large; though the right, by which it is held, has never been clearly aſcertained; and explanation, on this moſt important point, has been ſtudiouſly evaded; as if to reſerve it as a fruitful ſource of jealouſy and diſſatisfaction for hereafter. Accordingly we find various interpretations have been given, and a variety of pretenſions ſet up; which ever muſt be the caſe in unaſcertained claims. Mr. Foſter, by the weight and authority of his name, has greatly contributed to generate, in the minds of his countrymen, erroneous ideas on this important and intereſting ſubject; by every where talking of the *rights* of Ireland to a free trade, without any where informing them of the true nature of thoſe *rights*, or from whence derived.

Second, Ireland connected with the Britiſh Parliament for regulation of trade.

Trade with foreign ſtates;

The foreign trade of Ireland may be divided into

into two branches: the firſt, that carried on with foreign ſtates, which is held and enjoyed as a member of the Britiſh empire, under treaties contracted by the Crown, with theſe ſtates: and the ſecond with the Britiſh colonies, plantations, and ſettlements; held by *grant* from Great Britain, under a variety of laws paſſed in the Parliament of that kingdom.

with colonies.

It is evident, then, that the *right* of Ireland to this ſecond branch, reſts on the nature of the grant; that the charter is in the records of the Britiſh Parliament: and, that Ireland, or the Iriſh Parliament, can have no power to explain, amend, or extend.

Before 1780, ſeveral indulgences had been granted to the trade of Ireland, but in that year the famous Act of the 20th of Geo. III. ch. 10. known by the title of the Grant of *Free Trade*, was paſſed; which, after reciting the grant to Ireland, of a full participation in the trade of Great Britain, with Britiſh America, and the Britiſh ſettlements in America, or Africa, has the following clauſe, ſtating the conditions and terms on which the grant was made, and to be enjoyed:

Grant of free trade.

"Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the importation

portation and exportation allowed by this Act, ſhall commence from, and as ſoon, and ſhall have continuance ſo long, and in ſuch reſpective caſes only, as the goods, or any of them, which are hereby allowed to be imported from the ſaid colonies, plantations, or ſettlements, into Ireland, or to be exported from Ireland into the ſaid colonies, plantations, or ſettlements, ſhall be liable, by ſome Act or Acts of Parliament to be made in the kingdom of Ireland, to *equal duties and drawbacks*, and ſhall be made ſubject to the *ſame ſecurities, regulations*, and *reſtrictions*, in all other reſpects, as the like goods *now are*, or HEREAFTER *may be*, liable and ſubject to upon being imported from the ſaid colonies, plantations, or ſettlements, into Great Britain, or exported from thence to ſuch colonies, plantations, or ſettlements, reſpectively; in the conſideration of which equal duties and drawbacks, &c. &c."

under the Britiſh Act of Parliament.

By this Act, the Britiſh Parliament reſerved to itſelf the power of regulation in all time to come; but left to Ireland the choice to follow her regulations; or to give up a ſhare in the trade. But the conduct of the Iriſh Parliament, even on this memorable occaſion, is not a little remarkable: they paſſed a law, in compliance with the above, enacting the impoſitions, regulations, and reſtrictions, required by the

Conduct of Iriſh Parliament.

Britiſh Act; but without reciting, or recogniſing, the power reſerved by the Britiſh Parliament to regulate in future: the preamble being, "Whereas it is deemed reaſonable, and for the advancement of trade and encouragement of manufactures, that all goods, &c." Iriſh Statute, 20th of Geo. III. ch. 4.

I do not ſay that this was purpoſely omitted, with a view to create doubt or ambiguity as to the power of legiſlation; though, as it now ſtands, it undoubtedly has that effect; but it was, even at the moment of receiving a favour, a ſignal proof of the jealouſy of the Iriſh Parliament, which refuſed to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Britiſh Parliament even over their own immediate concerns.

Right of Ireland to a free trade.

Under this Act, the kingdom of Ireland has an *abſolute* and *unlimited right* to a free trade; but not unconditionally, for it can only be enjoyed, by being made liable, by her own Parliament, to *equal duties* and *drawbacks*, and *ſubject* to the *ſame ſecurities, regulations, and reſtrictions, in all other reſpects*, as the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall, from time to time, think fit to enact. It is unneceſſary to add, that Ireland enjoys this right merely in conſequence of this grant, as a member of the Britiſh empire; and

would forfeit the right by hoſtility or ſeparation.

Here then we ſee, that the Britiſh Parliament poſſeſſes the excluſive right of regulating an extenſive branch of the trade of Ireland. But this is not all. By the power of impoſing additional duties, ſhe has an *indirect* power of taxing Ireland alſo: the taxes, indeed, ſo raiſed, muſt be by her own Parliament; and would be at their diſpoſal: but if not impoſed, in conſequence of the Act of the Britiſh Parliament, the kingdom of Ireland would forfeit the branch or branches of trade, on which they had been laid by the Britiſh Parliament; not for ever, but until the Iriſh Parliament impoſed the ſame duties, and ſimilar regulations, reſtrictions, &c.

Whoever reflects on the nature of two independent Parliaments, and conſiders the ſtate in which this great queſtion, involving the moſt eſſential intereſts of the two kingdoms, has been left; with a right of taxation and regulation in the one Parliament; acquieſced in, but not acknowledged by the other; and further takes into the account the jealouſy ſhown by the Iriſh Parliament, even at the time of receiving the grant; will readily perceive a fertile and alarming ſource of jealouſy and diſ-

ſatisfaction,

ſatisfaction, which never can be removed, but by an United Parliament.

But to delay applying a preventive to the miſchiefs that may be expected to ariſe from the preſent ſtate of this queſtion, would be a very culpable imprudence; or to depend that a very probable event will never happen, becauſe it has not hitherto taken place, is too weak to call for any anſwer. The experience of ages would, in ſuch a caſe, be no argument; for it might happen on the next occaſion that occurred. In the preſent queſtion, however, even this ſemblance of reaſoning is wanting; for the Iriſh Parliament has, on various occaſions, differed on matters of common import, with the Parliament of Great Britain; and if no bad conſequences have followed, it muſt be imputed, more to the temper of the one, than the prudence and diſcretion of the other.

Different proceedings in Britiſh and Iriſh Parliaments in 1789.

It did happen on the queſtion of the regency, in 1789; when the Iriſh Parliament exerciſed its powers in a manner that laid the foundation for very ſerious diſcuſſions with the Parliament of Great Britain. If the temporary indiſpoſition of the King produced, in the firſt inſtance, ſo material a deviation from the proceedings in the Britiſh Parliament; and ſo eſſential a difference in the powers, with which the regency

was to have been inveſted in the two kingdoms; who will pretend to ſay, to what greater lengths the difference might have been carried, if the recovery of our gracious Sovereign had not prevented the queſtion from coming to a deciſion?

in 1782, A ſecond inſtance is to be found in the proceedings of 1782, on which occaſion we have ſeen, that the Parliament of Ireland evaded, or, as Mr. Grattan ſays, rejected a propoſition for a final ſettlement, though recommended by two different meſſages from the Throne; and a
in 1799. third will be found in the Addreſs of the Commons to His Majeſty, in anſwer to the ſpeech from the Throne, at the opening of the laſt Seſſion; in which they not only omitted taking any notice of the moſt important point of His Majeſty's ſpeech, an Union of the two kingdoms, but ſtruck out of their Addreſs the paragraph that related to it.

I will not ſtop to inquire, if ſuch a conduct was dignified or parliamentary in itſelf; or dutiful and reſpectful to the Crown: but it deſerves to be moſt particularly brought forwards to view, as a proof, the moſt poſitive and ſatisfactory, of a great and important fact; to which I now wiſh to call the attention of my reader; that the powers of the Crown, which is

now the only bond of connexion between the two kingdoms, are too weak to enſure reſpect to itſelf, or to preſerve a co-operation between the two Parliaments in great emergencies, or important queſtions; where the general intereſts of the empire are equally concerned, and where co-operation is eſſential to their very exiſtence.

Powers of the Crown, the only bond of connexion, inſufficient;

Our Conſtitution has wiſely encircled the Crown with prerogative, and ſtrengthened it with patronage and influence, in order to render it efficient as a branch of the legiſlative power, not only to ſupport it in regular conteſts with the two Houſes of Parliament, but againſt the more irregular and violent aſſaults of civil commotion and inſurrection.

In order that the powers of the Crown may be adequate to theſe conſtitutional objects, they muſt, at all times, be in proportion to the power of the other branches of the Legiſlature, and to the ſtrength of the people whom it is appointed to govern. It is evident that when the Parliament of Ireland acquired new powers, and an independence which has a natural tendency to ſeparation, the power of the *only remaining bond of connexion* ought, in prudence, to have been made proportionally ſtronger; but this has been ſo far from being the caſe, that we ſhall find it has been made proportionally weaker;

reduced in Ireland.

weaker; for after every thing had been gained for commerce and conſtitution, and that Parliament had repeatedly declared, that no conſtitutional queſtion would exiſt to diſturb the harmony; the Iriſh Parliament directed its attacks againſt the Crown itſelf, as the laſt bulwark that remained to be deſtroyed, the laſt grievance that excited their jealouſy and diſſatisfaction. Was the intention to weaken the connexion by weakening the only power on which it depended? or was it the effect of a reſtleſs ſpirit of oppoſition, hunting for meaſures to diſtreſs Government, and to revive the dying ſparks of their expiring popularity? But above all, to what ſecret ſprings and underhand workings ſhall we aſcribe the ſucceſs obtained over the Crown by a handful of men, who had ceaſed to be formidable from having loſt their conſequence with the people? If the fortreſs could not have been taken by aſſault, it could only have been by a voluntary ſurrender, or by an underſtanding with the garriſon:—if the articles of capitulation ſecured very great and valuable advantages to the garriſon at the expenſe of the governor, there would at leaſt be a ſtrong preſumption of a ſecret underſtanding.

Place Bill. Penſion do.

Be this as it may, in the year 1793 a Place Bill was paſſed, and a Penſion Bill, in which His Majeſty was made to ſurrender, during his life, the hereditary revenue ſettled on the Crown at the

the Reſtoration, accepting in lieu thereof a Civil Liſt eſtabliſhment of 145,000*l.*, and a Penſion Liſt of 80,000*l.*; but the Act of 1795, introduced under the title of a Reſponſibility Bill, and which afterwards paſſed under the title of a Bill for the better Regulation of the Receipts and Iſſues of His Majeſty's Treaſury, &c. had for its direct object the tranſferring the patronage of the Crown from the King's Repreſentative to the ſervants of the Crown.

Reſponſibility Bill.

Without entering into a detail of particulars relative to theſe Acts, it will be univerſally allowed, that they have a direct tendency to reduce the influence of the Crown; the object indeed for which they were profeſſedly introduced—and that is the only point I have in view, at preſent, to aſcertain.

Their tendency.

The next inconvenience that the Crown lies under, ariſes from the perſon of the ſovereign being unknown: from his reſidence in another kingdom, all the ſupport and influence that might otherwiſe be derived from his perſonal virtues or amiable qualities are entirely loſt; and even the patronage, which is only left as a naked and undiſguiſed engine of government, and therefore always in a degree unpopular, is liable to many additional diſad-

Crown ſubject to other inconveniences,

vantages

from delegation, vantages from the circumſtance of a delegated authority, which being only temporary, cannot poſſibly have the intereſt of a proprietor in the exerciſe; and may naturally be ſuppoſed to conſult the eaſe and quiet of its own individual adminiſtration, more than the permanent intereſts of the Crown; or the accommodation of a ſucceſſor, who is frequently an object of hatred, of jealouſy always.

The conſequence of this is, that the moſt valuable branches of the prerogative of the Crown, and the firſt honours it has to beſtow, are brought into contempt with the people, by an improper choice of the perſons on whom they are injudiciouſly conferred; and thus a popular clamour and odium are excited againſt the Crown itſelf.

Theſe inconveniences exiſt in the very nature of a delegated power, and they have a direct tendency to weaken the influence of the Crown in its operation, as the only bond of connexion between the two kingdoms, even when that power reſts entire in the hands of the King's Repreſentative, and is exerciſed by him; but if by any accident, or in conſequence of arrangement, as under the Reſponſibility Act; or

from combination, &c. of combination among the ſervants of the Crown, as has frequently happened in the hiſtory of

Ireland, the power ſhould be transferred from the hands of the Lord Lieutenant to the ſervants of the Crown; it would follow of courſe that the power of the Crown would not only be paſſive and unable to preſerve itſelf, and maintain the connexion between the two countries; but that it might be converted into an engine to deſtroy the one and to aboliſh the other; for, in caſe of ſuch an event, the greater the power, the more certainly would it produce its own ruin.

The irritable pride of two diſtinct kingdoms, the toutchy jealouſy of two independent Parliaments, and the increaſing proſperity of the kingdom of Ireland, all tend, by the phyſical laws of gravitation, to carry her from her connexion with Great Britain, and act as an increaſing *centrifugal force*. To counteract this force, the influence of the Crown, or *attractive power*, ought to reſide in Great Britain, to which ſhe is to be attracted; but if by any circumſtance the *centripetal power* ſhould be added to the *centrifugal*, ſeparation muſt be the immediate conſequence.

Centrifugal force, and

centripetal power.

In a country, too, ſituated as Ireland, with a free Conſtitution and an independent Parliament reſiding in that country, and the Executive Power in another, the immediate conſe-

Struggles for power and patronage.

quence muſt be, a conſtant ſtruggle for power and patronage between Prerogative and Office, between the Crown and the Parliament, between the ſervants of the Crown in the one kingdom and the ſervants of the Crown in the other: and accordingly we find the political hiſtory of Ireland to conſiſt of little elſe than accounts of the ſtruggles for power between thoſe contending parties. But what is not a little remarkable is, that the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland has generally been at the head of ſuch combinations, and conſidered as the Miniſter of the country; the Government of which has been more or leſs tinctured by his character; and quiet or turbulent, in proportion as he has been ambitious or otherwiſe.

Iriſh Speaker the Miniſter of the country.

From the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, for it is unneceſſary to go higher, to the year 1767, when Lord Townſhend was appointed *reſident Lord Lieutenant*, Ireland had been principally governed by Lords Juſtices; the Lord Lieutenant going over for only a few months every ſecond year, for the meeting of Parliament; and during the whole of that period, except about four years, from 1754 to 1758, the Speaker was invariably one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom.

Lords Juſtices.

During

During the reign of George I. the Speaker Conolly enjoyed the confidence of the Crown, without perverting it to the private objects of ambition or interest. He was succeeded in 1730 by Sir Ralph Gore, who dying two years after was succeeded by Henry Boyle, a man of popular manners, superior abilities, and aspiring mind. The great power he acquired in consequence made him impatient of control, and frequently gave umbrage to his employers, whom he always considered and frequently treated as inferiors; supported by a great majority in the two Houses, he conducted the King's business with facility; and the Lord Lieutenant submitted to his terms, and acquiesced in his power, till the Duke of Dorset and his son and Secretary, Lord G. Sackville, less patient of control, tried to break the power of this overbearing combination, by throwing the patronage into the hands of Primate Stone, an Englishman, deficient neither in abilities or address, though infinitely inferior in popular arts to his formidable rival. The Speaker prevailed in the struggle*, which had been carried

Speaker Conolly.

Henry Boyle, Speaker.

Primate Stone.

* A surplus had accumulated in the Treasury, which His Majesty had the power of disposing of by his letters to the Lord High Treasurer; but preferred recommending to the House of Commons to apply it for objects of national improvement. The subject of the contest was, whether this should be done by the King's *consent* or *assent*: every

ried on with uncommon violence for ſeveral years, and Government were reduced to capitulate. Speaker Boyle was created Earl of Shannon, with a penſion of 2000*l.* a year for thirty-one years, and Mr. John Ponſonby was raiſed to the Chair. A coalition had taken place between the contending parties, and the Primate, Earl of Shannon, and Mr. Ponſonby, were appointed Lords Juſtices.

Earl of Shannon.

Things went on quietly until the death of George II. rendered it neceſſary to call a new Parliament; and the Law of Poynings requiring heads of a bill to be certified by the Privy Council into England, as cauſes and conſiderations for calling a Parliament; the effects of combination again ſhowed themſelves in ſtopping the heads of the bill required; until the popular leaders had made their bargain, and come to an agreement with the new Adminiſtration: and though the object of the combination was defeated, and the heads of a bill carried in the Privy Council by the ſpirited conduct of the late Duke of Leinſter, then Lord Kildare, Government was not ſufficiently ſtrong to riſk a conteſt; though a reſolution

Combination on the acceſſion of His preſent Majeſty,

defeated by the Earl of Kildare.

man was ready with his plan, and the ſpoil was, as uſual, divided among the victors. This famous ſcramble produced a thirſt for public money, and a ſpirit of jobbing, that ſhot their roots deep into the Iriſh ſyſtem.

was

was then formed, which was afterwards executed on the death * of Lord Shannon, to break down the force of this combination by abolishing the office of Lords Juſtices, and appointing a reſident Lord Lieutenant.

Notwithſtanding this precaution, the effect of combination has been frequently felt; under the Adminiſtration of Lord Buckinghamſhire powerfully, though it acted in diſguiſe; at the time of the Regency openly and avowedly, for a number of the ſervants of the Crown not only, on that occaſion, went over to Oppoſition; but did not bluſh to ſecure their continuance in office by a round robin engagement, which gave the law to Government, and obliged the Lord Lieutenant to retire.

If combination againſt Government has not prevailed more for ſome years in Ireland, it is to be greatly aſcribed to the honourable conduct of the firſt ſervant of the Crown in that kingdom, who has been ever faithful to his truſt; and to the preſent Lord Shannon, who, from the time of accepting office, has never made any attempt to regain from the Crown the great and extenſive power that his father had ſo long enjoyed.

Lord Clare.

Lord Shannon.

* In December 1764.

Without

Without entering into any detail of the preſent ſtate of parties in Ireland, which is unneceſſary, as it might appear invidious, I am perſuaded that every man who reflects on the preſent political ſituation of that country, will be convinced, that combination is a vice inherent in its very nature, and which cannot fail to diſturb, if not to deſtroy, the connexion between the two kingdoms; except the prerogative and patronage of the Crown can be at all times ſecured to the Executive Power, in whoſe hands they can only be ſafely lodged, for the valuable purpoſes for which they were originally granted by the conſtitution; and ſince experience has ſhown the inefficacy of all other meaſures that have been tried to effect this object, it becomes more neceſſary to adopt an Union, by which alone it can be effectually ſecured.

Inconvenience to the Crownfrom religious diſtinctions.

Another great inconvenience that the Crown is expoſed to in the government of Ireland, ariſes from the peculiar circumſtance of the legiſlative power being lodged in the hands of the religious diſtinction, who are a minority of the kingdom, to the excluſion of the majority. This circumſtance infers a cloſe connexion between Government and the favoured claſs: it confines the patronage of the Crown to them, and the places of honour or emolument. It accordingly produces heart-burnings and jealouſies among the great body of the people, which they

they extend to the Government itſelf as a party in what they conſider a ſyſtem of partiality and injuſtice; while the Government being dependant on the Parliament thus conſtituted, are narrowed in their intercourſe with the people, and obliged frequently to wink at abuſes which they want power to correct; and thus Government is rendered unpopular, and accuſed of encouraging abuſes by thoſe who are ignorant of their real ſituation.

This certainly is not a moment for reducing the efficient power of the Crown in either kingdom; but ſtill leſs in Ireland, where, over and above the duties and offices that the Crown is charged with in this kingdom, it has a much more arduous and important taſk to perform—*the preſervation of the connexion between the two kingdoms*, of which it is the *only bond:* and all that I have ſaid on this ſubject muſt be conſidered with a reference to this object; as a failure muſt prove not only injurious to the Crown itſelf, but ruinous to both countries.

I have thus, with a weak hand, given a faint ſketch of an outline, which it would require infinitely greater abilities than mine, and more time than the circumſtances will allow, to fill up in a proper manner. Strongly as I feel impreſſed with the importance of the ſubject, if I had

had given way to my feelings I ſhould have painted, in much ſtronger colours, the imminent danger to which the ſtate is expoſed from the preſent connexion between the two kingdoms, and the neceſſity of an Incorporated Union; a neceſſity which, unfortunately, does not *now* reſt on abſtract reaſoning; but appeals from theory to facts; from ſpeculation to practice; from the inflammatory ſpeeches on the *independence* of Ireland in the *ſenate*, to an appeal to *arms*, on the ſame grounds, in the *field*. The cauſe of rebellion had been long the favourite theme of Parliamentary declamation; and the unhappy men who were deluded into inſurrection, had been taught to conſider the *independence of Ireland*, for which they fought, to be their unalienable birthright.

Will thoſe men, who rejected final adjuſtment in 1782, ſtill perſiſt in keeping a queſtion open for more bloodſhed, and all the terrors incident to civil war; or will they now, ſatiated with blood, agree to put an end to the conteſt, and cloſe the account, by uniting the two kingdoms on a ſolid and permanent baſis for ever?

To the Parliaments of both kingdoms does the unhappy mother, bewailing the loſs of her darling ſon, raiſe her ſupplicating eyes; to

them does the helpleſs orphan ſtretch his little hands; to them does a kingdom, torn by civic diſcord and religious animoſities; ſtained by crimes, and deſolated by fire and ſword, look up for relief: while the many thouſands of unhappy men who have loſt their lives in the arbitration of this *unſettled queſtion*, point to their bleeding wounds, and urge the neceſſity of a *final adjuſtment*.

This naturally leads me to

PART III.

The internal State of Ireland,

Religious diſtinctions.

WHICH preſents to our view the moſt jarring and ill-combined ſyſtem of civil policy, that is, perhaps, to be found in the annals of mankind—a people divided into two religious diſtinctions ſtruggling for aſcendancy; united only in locality, diſunited in views and intereſts.

Eſtabliſhment;

In every other country where religious diſtinction has been made the teſt of office, the *majority* has conſtituted the eſtabliſhment. In Ireland the caſe is reverſed, in favour of the *minority*. The Britiſh laws were firſt introduced into Ireland for the excluſive uſe of the *Britiſh ſettlers* within the Pale, and after a time extended, as a favour, to the natives. The exerciſe of the Britiſh Conſtitution, which had likewiſe been introdueed, was naturally confined to the *Britiſh ſettlers*; and while Ireland continued a *colony* of Great Britain, and even after ſhe ceaſed to be a colony, a *dependant kingdom*, the Britiſh ſettlers had ſtill a right to the exerciſe of the government, which was upheld and ſupported by Great Britain. But from the time that the Proteſtants or Britiſh ſettlers invited the Roman Catholics to join them, to free the

reaſons for.

kingdom

kingdom from what they called a ſtate of ſlavery; and declared their Parliament *independent* of Great Britain; it is a conſequence that they renounced the privileges which they poſſeſſed as *Britiſh ſettlers*.

They claimed an independent Legiſlature as a *nation*; they now exerciſe it as a *faction*. If they were right in their claims on Great Britain, they muſt be wrong in excluding the *majority* of the kingdom from a participation. By renouncing the legiſlative power of Great Britain they renounced their right to monopoly, and muſt now abide by the conſequences, or come to a new arrangement. Reverſed by independence.

For in the preſent ſyſtem of monopoly of power and office, of the honours and diſtinctions of the ſtate, in the hands of the minority of a people, from all which actuating and deſirable objects a great majority of them are excluded;—inveterate enmity, deeply-rooted jealouſies, and deadly feuds, are the natural and inſeparable conſequences--the angry and diſcordant paſſions are inevitably accumulated, ready to burſt into action on every trivial occaſion. Conſequences

Such an unnatural ſtate, contrary to the *phyſical laws* of the world, never did exiſt, and never can exiſt, for any length of time; and if from a view of phyſical cauſes.

Ireland were, in fact, what ſhe vainly pretends to be, *independent*; that is, if ſhe were left by England to uphold the independence ſhe proudly boaſts of, ſhe would ſoon have reaſon to lament the effects of her vanity and ambition; and to be convinced that ſhe had claimed a power which muſt prove her deſtruction; and ſet up a pretenſion which deſtroys itſelf if left to its natural operation.

Experience.

If in the year 1798 Ireland had been left to the exerciſe of her boaſted independence, or if Great Britain were either now, or at any future period, to leave her to ſettle her contending intereſts and religious diviſions, and to decline interfering in her domeſtic differences, the conteſt would, indeed, be of ſhort duration, and muſt infallibly be terminated by the overthrow of the preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate. Proteſtant Aſcendancy, which can only be ſupported by Britiſh connexion, muſt expect to be thrown aſide as an inſolent uſurpation; and Catholic Emancipation might be expected, by the law of retaliation, founded on the vindictive paſſions of the human heart, to be transformed into Catholic tyranny, inſtead of ſtopping ſhort at Catholic aſcendancy.

Superiority of numbers.

If any man is weak enough to imagine, that ſuch a civil policy as that of Ireland is at the preſent

preſent moment, can ſubſiſt of itſelf, I deſire him only to take a pair of ſcales in his hand, to put one pound in the one ſcale and three in the other, and ſatisfy himſelf that his opinion is contrary to the order of things. If, in the recent ſtruggles, the weight of Great Britain had not been thrown into the ſcale, Proteſtant Aſcendancy and Iriſh Independence muſt have kicked the beam.

Contrary aſſertion of Dr. Duigenan examined.

Dr. Duigenan, in his *Fair Repreſentation*, p. 164, advances a contrary aſſertion; he ſays, "The ſtrength and puiſſance of Iriſh Romaniſts have been put to the trial in their late rebellion. They were vanquiſhed and completely ſubdued by the Proteſtant power of the nation, without any aſſiſtance from England, in the courſe of about ſix weeks."

I am far from a wiſh to detract from the merits and good conduct of the Proteſtant power of Ireland, by reminding the Doctor of what is due to the Engliſh and Scotch fencibles, whoſe example, diſcipline, and ſervices, had no ſmall influence on the good behaviour of the Iriſh militia; and who by their exertions kept down and ſmothered the rebellion, particularly in Ulſter, and ſaved the country from ruin.

But ſo far was this from being done without the aſſiſtance of England, in another reſpect, that without the conſtant ſupplies of money remitted from that kingdom, there would not have been a ſhilling in the Iriſh treaſury to pay either Iriſh or Britiſh troops. The credit of Government in that kingdom was ſo low, that they could raiſe no ſupplies but in England, under the ſanction of the Britiſh Miniſter, who was at laſt obliged to raiſe the Iriſh loans along with the Britiſh; in which manner he has procured, ſince 1797, eight millions and a half from this kingdom for the ſervice of Ireland; though the Doctor now chooſes to cancel the obligation by denying any aſſiſtance from England. It is true that the Iriſh nation pay the intereſt of the different loans that England has furniſhed for their ſervice: but as I have not yet heard that the Roman Catholics have been exempted from contributing their ſhare; the Doctor cannot, with any more juſtice, claim this to the ability of the Proteſtants oppoſed to the Roman Catholics, than he can aſcribe the quelling of the late rebellion to the Proteſtant power of the nation without the aſſiſtance of England. Now that the Roman Catholics are entirely vanquiſhed, if the Doctor would take the trouble to ſatisfy Marquis Cornwallis, that the peace of the kingdom could be preſerved by the Proteſtant power of the nation, His Ex-

cellency would, I doubt not, be very much obliged to him.

The counties of Wicklow and Wexford, the ſeat of the rebellion, may be conſidered as Proteſtant: the provinces of Munſter and Connaught, where the Roman Catholics prevail, were never engaged in the rebellion: and the Iriſh militia, of whom three fourths, at the loweſt computation, are Roman Catholics, behaved, on all occaſions, with loyalty and zeal. General reflections on the Roman Catholics are therefore invidious, and the inferences unfounded.

I am ready to admit that the advantages enjoyed by the Proteſtants, in being poſſeſſed of all the places of power of the ſtate, and farther ſupported by all the legal and conſtituted authorities, backed by a military force and the purſe of the nation, may, for a time, counteract the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the Catholics; but without the further co-operation and aſſiſtance of Great Britain in the two great points, men and money, all theſe united advantages could neither ſecure internal peace, nor maintain the preſent ſyſtem, to the excluſion of the Roman Catholics.

Power of the ſtate deſtroyed by internal diviſions.

But wherever the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of things cannot be preſerved without the concurrence and aſſiſtance of a power without the ſtate, Government there becomes, not the well-regulated movement of the combined powers of the ſtate; but a compreſſive force, exerted to prevent the diſcordant effect of oppoſite powers from deſtroying each other. In a ſtate ſo conſtituted, and conſiſting of two oppoſite factions counteracting each other, the weight and attention of Government are principally employed to preſerve internal peace between the contending parties; by which occupation it is evident that the natural advantages, which ought otherwiſe to be derived from the united powers of ſuch a ſtate, in a conteſt with foreign and hoſtile nations, are greatly diminiſhed; as what can be employed againſt a common enemy is only the difference between the two internal factions, and the ſurplus of the force in the hands of Government, that can be ſpared from preſerving peace between them.

If this ſubject is touched on, the Proteſtant takes the alarm; he talks loudly of his *right* to an excluſive poſſeſſion, and he appeals to the Conſtitution, ſupported by a variety of laws that are clearly in his favour.

The

The Roman Catholic, with equal warmth, claims his *natural rights*, treats excluſion as injuſtice; the laws as the grievance; and the length of poſſeſſion, inſtead of giving a right from preſcription, as the height of the injury. He repreſents that the Proteſtants, when conſidered as a part of Great Britain, firſt excluded the Catholics from Parliament, and then paſſed laws in their own favour, and for their own ſeparate benefit, at the expenſe of the Roman Catholics. By whom is this point to be determined? To what tribunal is the difference to be referred? The Iriſh Parliament is a party. It is too manifeſt in what manner all ſuch queſtions, involving the original rights of great bodies of men, muſt ever be decided; except a *third power*, with a common intereſt in the happineſs of both the contending parties, can be found, to whoſe juſtice the arbitration of their differences may be ſafely entruſted: to give efficiency to ſuch a tribunal, it is farther neceſſary, that it ſhould poſſeſs the power to enforce its decrees, and carry its deciſions into execution.

Natural rights decided by arms, or arbitration.

It is very plain, that all theſe advantages would be derived from an *united Parliament*; which would be diveſted of all partialities, and local intereſts; which would have a common intereſt in ſatisfying the contending parties by doing juſtice between them, whoſe firſt object

United Parliament, a proper umpire.

muſt be to render them both uſeful to the ſtate; which can only be, by removing and deſtroying the cauſes that, at preſent, occaſion their differences, and which would poſſeſs power ſufficient to carry the arrangement into effect. It is evident that this great object could not be accompliſhed either by partiality or injuſtice; and conſequently that it is for the advantage of both parties to ſubmit their differences to this mode of arbitration; inſtead of keeping alive the conteſt, which has already coſt ſo much blood; and muſt coſt ſo much more, while the determination lies between the Proteſtants and the Roman Catholics, before a court which is a party; and whoſe very formation is the great ſubject of litigation, and from which there is no appeal but to arms.

Obſtacles to accommodation.

But ſuch is the jealouſy of the two parties, and ſuch the oppoſition of *Proteſtant Aſcendancy* and *Catholic Emancipation*, that whatever meaſure has the appearance of being approved by the one, creates diſtruſt in the other; and the great difficulty is, to get them ſo far to huſh their differences, as to liſten to any propoſition for accommodation: while the advocates for either, excluſively, puſh their arguments to the extreme; freſh warmth and violence are produced, inſtead of the temperament that leads to accommodation: while *ſtatute law* and *natural*

rights knock their heads together, freſh paſſions are engendered; and the parties, ſtrong in their reſpective pretenſions, ſtand at open defiance.

Lord Minto, in his ingenious Speech, had given a beautiful theory of the relative ſituation of the two parties; with a view to aſcertain the policy of the preſent ſyſtem of excluſion, and the *natural right*, that a majoritty of any people poſſeſſed to a *participation*, at leaſt, in the government of their country. Lord Minto and Dr. Duigenan. Natural rights.

Dr. Duigenan, with conſiderable irritation, takes the alarm at the firſt inquiry into the nature of the title, and flies, with his monopoly, to the *Statutes* for protection. Lord Minto, after examining the right that a minority had to make laws to exclude the majority, had added, that *preſcription* could not ſanctify injuſtice, or cure a title fundamentally wrong. The Doctor runs away with the word *preſcription*, as if Lord Minto had ſtated it to be the only authority, under which the Proteſtants held and exerciſed their aſcendancy; and quotes a long ſtring of ſtatutes in defence of their powers.

A little conſideration would have convinced the Doctor that this waſte of labour might have been ſpared; for Lord Minto had never called in queſtion the exiſtence of theſe ſtatutes, nor

the right derived under them: his Lordſhip's inquiry being directed to the *principles*, on which theſe ſtatutes had been framed, and how far the continuing ſuch reſtrictive ſtatutes was conſiſtent with juſtice and good government. The ſtatutes are the point at iſſue, the cauſe of complaint: without them the Roman Catholics would have no grievance; and Lord Minto's arguments would be without an object. The miſunderſtanding ariſes entirely from the Doctor's applying the word *right* to a totally different object from what Lord Minto had in his view; the Doctor ſheltering the right of the Proteſtant under the ſtatute law; and Lord Minto's inquiry being directed to the natural rights of the Roman Catholics in oppoſition to thoſe ſtatutes, from their being a majority of the people.

The Doctor, after taking a great deal of pains to reduce the relative numbers of the Roman Catholics, endeavours next to do away the force of the argument in their favour, from their being a majority; by ſaying, "that a majority of the people is to be eſtimated, not by the numbers or poll; but by property; inaſmuch as property is the foundation of the *repreſentative* ſyſtem! Of the repreſentative ſyſtem, it certainly is; for, there, property being a repreſentative of theſe who live under it, may very properly

perly be admitted as a criterion of numbers: but in diſputes for political rights, between great bodies of men, *repreſentation* muſt give way to *reality*: if they cannot ſettle their differences in an amicable manner, agreeable to the principles of equity; the conteſt muſt be, ultimately, decided by *numbers* and *phyſical force*.

So that *this horn* of Lord *Minto's dilemma*, which the Doctor flattered himſelf he had deſtroyed, remains in the ſame ſtate as he found it.

The Doctor is aware how tremblingly alive the Iriſh are, if the title to property be touched on; and, probably to excite their alarm, has given them to underſtand, that Lord Minto had reſted their *right to property*, as well as to *political franchiſe*, on preſcription. He ſays, "The inſinuation, that many Iriſh Proteſtants derive the titles of their eſtates from preſcription, is equally groundleſs." The inſinuation, if made, would, certainly, have been groundleſs: Lord Minto, however, in his Speech (p. 73), does ſay, "The Catholics of Ireland not only claim a participation in the *civil franchiſes* enjoyed by their Proteſtant countrymen; but they *foſter* claims on the *property* of Proteſtants, the preſent poſſeſſion of which they treat as mere uſurpation; and theſe claims are of no trifling extent."

Title to property.

As

As this ſubject has, on every occaſion of Roman Catholic claim, been brought forward to frighten the Proteſtants from relaxing; by repreſenting the loſs of their property as the conſequence; I feel ſorry that any thing ſhould have fallen from ſo great an authority as Lord Minto, that could, in any manner, countenance an idea, that the *civil franchiſes*, and *property*, reſted on the ſame foundation; and that a reſtoration of the former neceſſarily involves the latter. On ſuch a point, men's fears are eaſily alarmed; the touching on the ſubject will be conſidered as an intimidation; and the ſnail does not, more inſtinctively, ſhrink within his ſhell, than the Proteſtant within his excluſive privileges, the inſtant that *property* is touched on.

This I am convinced is owing to his fears, and not to his reaſon; for if he would but calmly conſider this important ſubject as it really is, he will find, that it is now totally and abſolutely impoſſible that a *reſumption of property ſhould ever be propoſed in Ireland, in whatever hands the government of that country may be*; as it will be eaſy to ſhow that the Roman Catholics are *now* no leſs intereſted than the Proteſtants, in preſerving the preſent eſtabliſhment of property, as founded on charters or ſtatutes, for the reaſons that I ſhall aſſign hereafter.

Reſumption impoſſible.

But

But as I have above, on the ſubject of civil rights, appealed from the *law* to *principle*, on which the law was founded; I may be aſked, why others may not do the ſame in the caſe of *property?* I anſwer, that they are in every reſpect different. Property is the creature of the law, and belongs to an individual, or individuals, excluſively: civil rights are the birthright of the people, or community: property may be alienated and transferred from one hand to another, in a variety of ways, preſcribed by law; it may be divided and ſubdivided through a number of hands: but *civil rights*, though they may be ſeized by force or ſuppreſſed by violence, are a ſpecies of mortmain, belonging to the community, that cannot be alienated.

Difference between civil rights and property.

So far for a difference in the theory; but poſſeſſion will not be quieted with theories: I come then to practice.

The date of the laſt forfeitures in Ireland is upwards of one hundred years old; and ſuch is the delicate nature of property, that a law was paſſed in Great Britain, to limit the *nullum tempus* of the King's claim to royal demeſnes to ſixty years; between man and man forty years give a preſcriptive right in England, and twenty in Ireland: the ſame law is to be found in the juriſprudence of every country in Europe; from which

Iriſh forfeitures.

which I desire to claim no more, than that the *principle* is universally recognised as a *first principle*; a departure from which would be productive of much greater injury and inconvenience than the observation of it; and that consequently all men are interested in preserving it.

The next consideration derived from the lapse of time is this, that if a law now were to pass, offering to restore the estates forfeited in 1699, to the representatives of the then proprietors, I do not believe that twenty could be found, who could prove their descent in a court of justice; the proprietors fled to the continent, generally entered into foreign service, and few of that profession settle and marry; and the descendants of the few, who may be now alive, would find it next to an impossibility to prove their descent; owing to the destruction of registers and records in France, and other distant causes. If this difficulty were got over, and their title deeds preserved, it would, in most cases, be impossible to trace the property itself.

I have heard a great deal of maps, kept in foreign colleges, like bugbears to frighten children. I have seen some of them, and I can truly say they are fit for no other place, and seem to have been formed for the fabulous ages

of

of the Iriſh hiſtory, as all the diviſions are, into countries of O'Shaughneſſeys, O'Briens, O'Connors, &c. &c. without counties, cities, rivers, or mountains.

Doctor Duigenan, in his Appendix on the Comparative Property of Iriſh Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, has given a very defective view of that ſubject; by confining his inquiry to property held *in fee*, without taking into the conſideration the various other ways by which a man may, in Ireland, acquire a property in land: for though the Roman Catholics could not purchaſe lands in Ireland from the year 1703 till 1782, nor lend on mortgage, or take leaſes for ever, or for lives; yet various modes of evaſion had been introduced in practice, for the accommodation of the Roman Catholics; ſuch as long leaſes for 99 years, and 999 years; and fining down the rent of ſuch leaſes to a pepper-corn; which in fact transferred the property to the leſſee; which ſpecies of property came into great requeſt, being eaſily tranſferred, and not ſubject to judgment debts, as fee-ſimple property; and bonds were, by entering judgment, made *liens* on the eſtate; ſo that no bond was paſſed, in Ireland, without a judgment: inſomuch that I believe I may venture to ſay, that there are very few eſtates in the kingdom, in which the Roman Catholics

Comparative ſtate of property.

 have

have not a conſiderable intereſt, in one or other of the above ways: beſides the other modes of acquiring property, by deſcent, ſucceſſion, by will, marriage ſettlement, and by purchaſe and mortgage, ſince 1782.

Whoever reflects on the above circumſtances, and conſiders through how many different hands the forfeited property may have paſſed in the courſe of an hundred years, will perceive how impoſſible reſumption is become; as the Roman Catholics themſelves would be injured by it, and are intereſted with the Proteſtants in preſerving property on its preſent footing; for I believe every body will agree, that for every Roman Catholic intereſted in reſumption, there are thouſands intereſted in preſerving property under its preſent ſettlements.

Uſurpation of Cromwell.

The uſurpation of Cromwell did not laſt ten years; and yet, in that ſhort ſpace, the forfeitures had paſſed through ſo many hands, that reſumption was found impracticable; and on the Reſtoration, a law was paſſed, confirming all the grants of the uſurper.

Property deſtroyed by anarchy,

While there is a regular eſtabliſhed government in Ireland, whether the Proteſtants have the aſcendancy, or the Roman Catholics, property is equally ſecure: property has nothing to

to fear but from anarchy; and thoſe who have the greateſt ſhare of property in Ireland, are more immediately intereſted in preſerving order by the moſt liberal attention to the great body of the people; inſtead of exaſperating them to exceſs and diſorder; firſt by excluding them from the honours and emoluments of their common country, and then treating them with contempt and abuſive language; for this is pouring oil on the fire, and adding inſult to injury.

Whenever, on the contrary, the people are provoked by injury, or goaded by inſult, to fly to arms; property has every thing to dread from the ſubverſion of government. In the late rebellion, property was in imminent danger; not in conſequence of the claims of the Catholics, but from jacobinical principles, calculated to make war on property, as ſuch, without any reſpect of the perſons to whom it belonged.

and jacobinical principles.

If Doctor Duigenan be right in calculating that ſcarce a twentieth of the landed property of Ireland belongs to Roman Catholics; it is to be regretted that ſuch an unequal diſtribution exiſts; it is like a ſhip with her ballaſt ſtowed all to one ſide. Is it wonderful, if conſtant confuſion ſhould prevail in a country, where two thirds of the people have ſo little intereſt in preſerving order? Again, if the Doc-

Unequal diſtribution of property.

Inequality of numbers.

tor were right in charging all the inſurrections and rebellions in Ireland to the Roman Catholics, would not this inequality alone, account for its being ſo? But the truth is, that all diſorders, in any country whatever, muſt be the diſorders of the majority; conſequently in Ireland belong to the Roman Catholics; and certain it is, that in whatever manner, or on whatever pretence, a civil war has broken out in Ireland, it has uniformly degenerated into a war of religious diſtinctions. Even the late rebellion, which was begun, planned, and contrived by the Diſſenting republicans of Belfaſt; and which was purpoſely formed to unite all religions againſt Britiſh connexion, no ſooner broke out, than the principle was overpowered by the majority of the Roman Catholics, whoſe deep-rooted prejudices led them to direct their vengeance on the churches and the clergy; as the Proteſtants have ſince retaliated by burning chapels and deſtroying cottages, in ſpite of every precaution that has been uſed to prevent ſuch exceſſes.

Aſperity of religious diſtinctions.

The Doctor may be conſidered as the Fugal man of Proteſtant Aſcendancy; and whoever looks into his book, will find the aſperity which religious diſtinction infuſes into party, ſtrongly pourtrayed; and be ſatisfied that, if this ſpirit were univerſal, I have far underſtated the fertile

tile ſource of jealouſy and diſcontents that muſt inevitably diſtract that unhappy country from the difference of religion, and the difference of the political ſituation of the profeſſors.

When we find Doctor Duigenan, whom I never heard diſtinguiſhed for a cruel diſpoſition, who is eſteemed a good moral man, ſo far heated by this ſpirit, as to ſpeak of Lord Cornwallis's humanity, as a criminal weakneſs; and to cenſure the conduct of two of his officers for ſparing the lives of 600 of *the poor wretches*, ſhut up in the Wicklow mountains; and for trying to reclaim them from their deluſion, by a dance and a glaſs of whiſkey, inſtead of butchering them in cold blood, when they were in their power; we ſhould only reſt our view on the dreadful effects produced by the gall of religious diviſion on the milk of human kindneſs; and, paſſing over the individual, draw the general inference, that good policy as well as humanity enforce the obligation of correcting the ſyſtem that breeds ſuch deadly enmity and hoſtile paſſions; for theſe are not the effects of the religion; but of the grafting a political ſyſtem on religious diſtinctions.

But even theſe paſſions are not common to all the Proteſtants; the generality of whom may be allowed to have liberal ſentiments, and

to

to be diſpoſed to accommodation with their countrymen of the Roman Catholic religion: and accordingly the violent oppoſers have been marked by the name of Orangemen; from King William, who laid the foundation of the penal code againſt Roman Catholics; and theſe are ſubdivided, on this occaſion, into Eccleſiaſtic and Laymen; the former inclining to an Union, the latter furious in their oppoſition.

Orangemen

Few men are capable of forming abſtract views of general utility; and ſtill fewer capable of the generoſity required to ſacrifice private intereſts to the good of the community. We ſhall therefore conſider the different effects to be expected from an Union, on the different intereſts; in order to account for this difference in the conduct of two claſſes of men united in a common enmity to their Roman Catholic countrymen.

Church of Ireland

The church of Ireland is not only an object of jealouſy to the Roman Catholics, and, in her preſent ſtate, muſt ever be expoſed to danger from that quarter; but, from the peculiar circumſtance of being poſſeſſed of a very great landed property, which is an object of jealouſy to the Proteſtant gentry, who regard it with an evil eye; ſhe cannot rely on her own ſons for ſupport; and runs the riſk of being

ſacrificed

ſacrificed to a compromiſe between her friends and her foes. Her conduct in embracing Britiſh connexion, in the hope of identifying her intereſts with the church of England, is very prudent and perfectly juſt; as ſhe can more ſafely rely on the juſtice of an United Parliament, than on her ſuſpicious allies in the Parliament of Ireland. favours Union.

Church lands have loſt the benefit, derived to lay property, from a common intereſt; owing to the very circumſtance, which was intended for their ſecurity, their being unalienable. Church lands.

Landed property, *held in mortmain*, being, like civil rights, unalienable, may be conſidered as belonging to the community, rather than to individuals.

The power of the Legiſlature over the landed property of the church; to regulate, limit, and diſpoſe of, is ſo fully recogniſed, and has been ſo frequently exerted, that a doubt cannot exiſt on the ſubject.

Of tithes I ſay nothing, whether the right to them be founded on the bible or the ſtatute-book; on right divine, preſcription, or law. The tithe of potatoes, the ſcourge of the cottager, calls loudly for Parliamentary regulation. Tithes. of potatoes.

A *modus* would reſcue the poor man from a grievous oppreſſion, and prevent the ſhocking cruelties that clergymen and tithe-farmers have too often experienced in conſequence.

Church land, a bar to improvement.

The quantity of land belonging to the church of Ireland is acknowledged, univerſally, to be a bar to national improvement. If, with better management, it ſhould be found ſufficient, in addition to the tithes, to maintain the eſtabliſhed church with becoming dignity and eaſe; and, at the ſame time, to afford a decent maintenance to the Roman Catholic clergy; would it not be a very deſirable meaſure, and a very wiſe one, both for the Government, and the Church itſelf?

I am a ſincere friend to the eſtabliſhed church of Ireland; but I am ſtill more ſo to religion: and can never loſe ſight of the great object of melting down religious diſtinctions, and forming two inimical ſects into one community of Chriſtians and friends.

Roman Catholic hierarchy.

A *hierarchy*, unacknowledged by law, and independent of the Crown, an *imperium in imperio*, is full of danger to the ſtate. If the Roman Catholic prieſthood were maintained by the ſtate, they muſt of courſe be dependent on the government; which they would, from thence, have an intereſt in ſupporting: inſtead

of

of being the channels of faction, agitation, and inſurrection, they would become the preachers of order, ſubordination, and quiet. The lean beaſts are always reſtleſs and troubleſome, and breaking down the fences of the rich enclo-ſures; the fat cattle enjoy themſelves, and lie quiet.

It is a miſtake that there is any thing, in the Roman Catholic religion, that precludes ſuch a connexion between the government and their church, as the public good requires. Under the French monarchy, the Parliament of Paris condemned, as ſtrongly as the Parliament of Great Britain, that dangerous tenet formerly advanced by the Popes, that they had a power to abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance; and, that excommunicated kings might be depoſed by their ſubjects: the doctrine was abominable, and it ought to be renounced. The kings of France appointed to all benefices, the Pope poſſeſſing nothing but an appeal, *in ſpiritua-lities*. On the ſame ground, the matter of ſu-premacy might be eaſily adjuſted in Ireland.

French church under monarchy

It will, I think, be allowed to be a matter of little conſequence as to the ſtate; whether ordi-nation, conſecration, induction, &c. be derived from the Pope or the Primate; while the ap-

pointment to all temporalities is veſted in the King,

Lay Orangemen oppoſe Union:

The ſame reaſons, that very properly induce the church of Ireland to favour an Union with Great Britain, ought, if well underſtood, to have the ſame effect on the lay Orangemen, who now give it ſo a violent an oppoſition; though certainly ſome excuſe is to be made for thoſe, who conſider themſelves poſſeſſing an *excluſive right* to the places and the emoluments of the ſtate; objects which no man can be expected to reſign without regret, even when compelled by juſtice and neceſſity ſo to do.

their intereſt in boroughs.

The ſacrifice they are called on immediately to make, in conſequence of an Union, is the property they poſſeſſed in boroughs; and when we conſider that this ſpecies of property was of all others the moſt ſought after, as giving diſtinction, conſequence, and conſideration to the poſſeſſor; it muſt be allowed that every attention is due to make an adequate compenſation for what it may have been the work of ages to acquire; ſince the ſacrifice becomes neceſſary to the public good, and the peace of the country. For though they will gain in common with all their countrymen by an Union, their peculiar ſituation demands a peculiar attention, even after all the abatement that can be made,

from

from this ſpecies of property's not being recogniſed by the conſtitution; from the poſſeſſion being precarious, and ſubject to many accidents and difficulties; and, above all, from its being the particular object of jealouſy to the Roman Catholics, who conſtantly tacked a Reform of Parliament to their demand of being admitted to a ſeat in the Senate.

State of Iriſh repreſentation.

Of the 300 Members compoſing the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, about 180 were returned by cloſe boroughs, conſiſting of twelve burgeſſes, and a ſovereign or chief magiſtrate, ſcattered like fortreſſes over the country for the protection of, and encouragement to new ſettlers. While theſe remained in the hands of Proteſtants, Roman Catholics, if admiſſible, had ſmall chance of being returned. The mode of Parliamentary Reform propoſed in England, was an additional number of county Members; as leaſt liable to the influence of the Crown: but the object in Ireland, was to favour the admiſſion of Roman Catholics to borough elections; by extending the right of voting, not only to the freeholders and freemen within the borough, but to thoſe reſident in a certain diſtrict round it.

Reform.

Without ſome ſuch change in the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, the Roman Catholics

would never have been ſatisfied; and if the borough-owner now receives a proper compenſation, he will realize an uncertainty; he will eſcape from wrangling and quarrels; and cut off a fruitful pretext for diſorder and agitation. So that, every thing conſidered, I doubt not that, if a proper compenſation be given, he will think he makes a very good bargain. At all events, the intereſts of fifty or ſixty individuals cannot be allowed to ſtand in the way of a great national arrangement, which will give peace and order to their diſtracted country; and ſecure the preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by an incorporation with Great Britain.

Roman Catholics intereſted in an Union.

If the Roman Catholics ſhould from hence infer that they are conſequently to be for ever excluded, as at preſent, from a participation in national advantages; they would argue very wrong; for the ſecurity and ſtrength of the Proteſtants would remove the only juſt and reaſonable objection that can be advanced by them, to any propoſal for farther conceſſion: their fears being once removed, their oppoſition will ceaſe. At preſent, they dare not give a ſhare for fear of loſing the whole; as they are weaker in point of numbers, they find their ſafety in keeping the aſſailants without their intrenchments: when the garriſon is reinforced, they

they can throw their gates open, without an apprehenſion of danger.

The Roman Catholics, therefore, ſhould ſee, that it is their intereſt that the Proteſtants ſhould be fully ſatisfied in this point; as the certain means of obtaining whatever they can, in juſtice, deſire. But, if the Roman Catholics expect that articles of agreement ſhould be entered into, beforehand, for ſpecial objects; they will expect what the nature of the circumſtances renders impoſſible; for there is no power now in exiſtence, that could give them this aſſurance: the King cannot, much leſs can the Miniſter, though he has expreſſed his opinions, with regard to them, with ſufficient preciſion to leave no doubt of his intentions, at a proper ſeaſon. And the very object of the Union is to create a tribunal, before whom their claims will be ſure to find an impartial reception, and a candid examination; and who alone will be competent to decide on their merits.

Queſtion for their conſideration.

The only queſtion for them is now to decide, whether they will repoſe their confidence in an united Parliament, who can have no object but to ſatisfy every claſs of His Majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects; and whoſe wiſh muſt be to remove internal diviſions, and to form them into one people:

or

or will they retain their Parliament, as at preſent, which is one object of their complaints? will they truſt to the juſtice and beneficent views of their gracious Sovereign, who has liſtened to their prayer and granted their requeſts after they had been rejected by their own countrymen? Will they rely on the Marquis Cornwallis, whoſe lenity and attentions they duly experience; or on the Orangemen, who now court their ſupport? Will they rely on the men, who in 1789 excited their tenantry to commit the diſorders which gave riſe to the Peep of Day Boys, and Defenders*? Will they truſt the men, who, in 1792, pledged their lives and fortunes, at their county meetings, to ſupport Proteſtant Aſcendancy; and who, in 1793, endeavoured to defeat, when they could not prevent, His Majeſty's gracious recommendation of their cauſe to the Iriſh Parliament, by introducing the excluſions of which they now complain?

* In the ſummer of 1783, M. F. Eſq. then High Sheriff of the county of Down, came to Dublin to requeſt the then Lord Lieutenant to intercede with two Noblemen of that county, who, from miſtaken zeal, were ſuppoſed to have encouraged their tenants to break into the houſes of the Roman Catholics by night, under the pretence of ſearching for arms; as the diſorders produced thereby, threatened ſerious conſequences to the peace of the county. The Roman Catholics were then ſtyled Defenders; a name they retained after they acted offenſively; for the enſuing winter and ſpring they, under the pretence of retaliation, were guilty of great enormities.

The

The Roman Catholics now demand *Emancipation.* If they were in a ſtate of ſlavery, in what other language could they ſue to be releaſed? As it may not be generally underſtood what is meant by this degrading epithet, I ſhall quote the clauſe of the Act 33 Geo. III. ch. 21. containing the enumeration of offices, &c. from which the Roman Catholics are excluded by the oaths required to be taken to qualify, &c. Emancipation.

Sec. 9. "Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to enable any perſon to ſit or vote in either Houſe of Parliament, or to hold, exerciſe, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper or Commiſſioner of the Great Seal of this kingdom, Lord High Treaſurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Maſter or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treaſurer, or Deputy Vice-Treaſurer, Teller and Caſhier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant, Proviſo of 33 Geo. III. ch. 21.

or Governor, or Cuſtos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Member of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, Prime Sergeant, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Second and Third Sergeants at Law, or King's Counſel, Maſters in Chancery, Provoſt or Fellow of the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity, Poſtmaſter General, Maſter and Lieutenant General of His Majeſty's Ordnance, Commander in Chief of His Majeſty's forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-ſheriffs of any county in this kingdom: or any office contrary to the rules, &c. &c. &c. unleſs he ſhall have taken, made, and ſubſcribed the oaths and declaration, and performed *the ſeveral requiſites*, which by any law* heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any perſon to ſit or vote, or to hold, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid offices reſpectively.

It muſt be admitted that the particulars of this proviſo are of the moſt intereſting kind, as objects of honeſt ambition and laudable purſuit: and it cannot be denied that excluſion and legal incapacity are degrading in themſelves; and that, in ſuch caſes, the injury, great as it

* Teſt Act repealed in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters in 1780.

may

may be, is loſt in the ſtigma it infers: in the caſe before us, it is alleged, that this might have been avoided, as the appointment to all the ſpecified offices is in the hands of the Crown; who, it is contended, might have been ſafely entruſted with a diſcretionary power, without riſk of danger or inconvenience to the ſtate; in the like manner as the nomination of Juſtices of Peace was left to the diſcretion of the Chancellor by the ſame Act.

Conſequences of a connexion with France conſidered.

I think there is little doubt of the part that the Roman Catholics will act between an united Parliament and their preſent Parliament: but if any of them ſhould be inclined to retort my former arguments of numbers and phyſical force, and to oppoſe an Union as transferring theſe advantages to the Proteſtants; and ſhould further, ſuppoſe only in ſpeculation, argue for the policy of connecting themſelves with France, to counterbalance the power of the Proteſtants derived from a connexion with Great Britain; I will examine this view with the greateſt candor, to leave nothing unexplained, whereon to hang a doubt.

In the firſt place, Britain is not only much nearer to Ireland than France, and could ſooner ſend troops and every kind of ſupply, but her

fleets commanding the ſea, would prevent any regular ſupply from France from coming to Ireland. But ſuppoſing this were not ſo, has France, in her preſent exhauſted ſtate, even men to ſpare? You will learn the ſtate of France from a very reſpectable authority, whoſe intereſt it was by no means to exaggerate the calamities he had been a very active inſtrument in bringing on his country. The Abbé Sieyes, in an addreſs from the Executive Directory, of the 17th Fructidor, Sept. 3, 1799, iſſued by him as Preſident to the French people, thus deſcribes their ſituation:

State of France.

"Citizens of every condition, be aſſured that the Directory, whoſe members lived lately among you, has accurately obſerved your *calamities* and *your wants*, and have reflected with ſorrow upon the extent of the *privations* and the *ſacrifices* which the imminent danger of the criſis has compelled the laws to impoſe.

"They know what is felt by the *farmer*, *deprived of the hands* by *which he was aſſiſted in his* labour; by the *widow*, regretting the abſence of the ſon who ſolaced her miſery; by the *ſoldier*, who has ſo often called, *in vain*, for *arms*, *ſubſiſtence*, and *clothes*; by the *artiſan* in want of employment; by the *manufacturer*, *whoſe buſineſs languiſhes*;

languiſhes; by the *artiſt*, whoſe talents receive no encouragement; and the *proprietor*, whoſe eſtate has fallen in value."

In the above deſcription of republican France, every man among you will find the means of compariſon with his own particular ſituation; and, without any remarks of mine, I will leave him to draw his own concluſion.

If France cannot ſend men, ſhe can much leſs ſend money, which Great Britain ſupplies to Ireland with a bountiful hand: in the examples of the Netherlands, Holland, and Switzerland, you have before you the conſequences of French connexion, and revolutionary principles. The French have firſt plundered, and then enſlaved theſe wretched countries, whoſe infatuation blinded them to liſten to the flattering ſeduction of proffered fraternity. But getting over all theſe ſtrong conſiderations, I will farther ſuppoſe, that a numerous and well-appointed French force had actually landed in Ireland; a vigorous campaign muſt then take place, in which it is more than probable, that the exertions of Ireland (and here I include the loyal of all diſtinctions), backed and ſupported by Great Britain, would prevail, though the ſtruggle might poſſibly be violent; and, moſt certainly, bloody and calamitous in the extreme.

But ſtill, to leave no poſſibility unexamined, I will ſuppoſe, what you will all admit to be very improbable, that the French had enabled you to get the better. The firſt conſequence of this new ſtate of things muſt be, the deſtruction of your religion; which, though it might not greatly affect the rabble (for the rabble of all perſuaſions is every where the ſame), yet could not fail to make a great impreſſion on thoſe among you, whoſe attachment to their religion has made them give up the honours, the emoluments, and diſtinctions of the ſtate.

In the next place, the trade of Ireland would be entirely ruined by the fleet of Great Britain; and your linen manufacture, the great article of your export, would be loſt; by which Great Britain would ſave near a million a year, which it now coſts her to give a preference to your linen over German linen, for her home conſumption.

The ſupplies of money you have hitherto received from Great Britain would be ſtopped of courſe, and you would, beſides, have to draw, from abroad, arms, ammunition, and military ſtores; and farther, to preſerve the aſcendancy thus acquired, a French army muſt be conſtantly kept in the country, of ſufficient force to prevent the oppoſite party and Great Britain from

from recovering the government; and this French army muſt be paid and ſupported. Ireland does not abound in money; her natural produce muſt be put in requiſition; her corn, beef, pork, and butter, that now bring ſuch ſolid returns of Britiſh gold, muſt go to feed the armies of her new allies; who, if they paid at all, would pay for them by orders on the empty treaſury of Ireland. And when they had drained you of every thing, and reduced you to miſery, they would then leave you to ſettle accounts with Great Britain, irritated by your defection.

Loyalty of Roman Catholics;

In this plain and intelligible view of French connexion, which is not overſtrained in any one point, every man among you will be able to form a true judgment of its nature and conſequence; and ſo well are theſe underſtood by the ſenſible and thinking men of your perſuaſion, that if a French army could, by any poſſibility, make good a landing in Ireland, I am convinced they would be joined only by the riot rout of raps and rapperies, whoſe exceſſes and diſorders would render them weakneſs, and not ſtrength, to any military operation.

But this does not now reſt on opinion; for the Roman Catholics have a right to claim the merit due to their loyal and honourable conduct,

shown in 1796 and 1798.

duct, both when the French fleet appeared in Bantry Bay, and when a landing was effected by Humbert in the Bay of Killala. Neither do the events of 1798 juſtify any general reflection on that body; for the inſurrection did not originate with them, nor had it religion for its object, as men of all perſuaſions were unfortunately engaged in it. But if every man in arms had been Roman Catholic, what fair inference could be made, but that the *general ſenſe* of that body was againſt them? The rebellion was confined to the three counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford, and more particularly to the two latter, where Proteſtant Aſcendancy and religious diſtinction have been carried to the greateſt lengths; but theſe three counties are not a tenth of the kingdom, nor the Roman Catholics reſident in them a fifteenth part of that perſuaſion.

Experiment of Proteſtant Aſcendancy in the county of Wexford.

If an agreement had been made at the Revolution to ſelect one county in Ireland, for trying an experiment of the effect of *Proteſtant Aſcendancy*, I defy any man to point out a circumſtance that has been wanting to make that experiment in the moſt ſatisfactory manner in the county of Wexford. Who that knew the county of Wexford, or had ever heard of the Proteſtant Boys of Wexford, could have conceived that the Roman Catholics ſhould have riſen

riſen there? And yet ſuch is the fact; the rebellion not only broke out there, but was marked with atrocities that diſgrace human nature. Does this example encourage us to extend Proteſtant Aſcendancy over the reſt of the kingdom? Munſter and Connaught, where the Roman Catholic religion is predominant, as the Proteſtant in the county of Wexford, were perfectly quiet.

General reflections.

If ſuch general reflections be unjuſt, they are certainly impolitic in the higheſt degree, as they have a direct tendency to irritate, to alienate the affections of the Roman Catholics, and to drive them into deſperate meaſures, when they find themſelves not only deprived of the ſhare of approbation that belongs to loyalty and good conduct, but as a body ſuſpected of diſaffection, and involved in a general charge of rebellion.

Objects of Orangemen.

The Orangemen, in thus holding up the whole body of the Roman Catholics, indiſcriminately, as ſtate criminals, might have two objects in view—the firſt, to expoſe them to military execution; the ſecond, to render them ſuſpectedto Government, in the hope of preventing any farther relaxation in their favour.

First defeated by Marquis Cornwallis.

In the first, they have been disappointed by the manly firmness of the Marquis Cornwallis, who has restrained the rage of contending factions; who has made the laws be respected by distributing justice to the rich and the poor, the peer and the peasant, with a steady and impartial hand; and who, from the general confidence reposed in his virtuous character by all ranks, has been enabled to stop the effusion of blood, and to restore order and tranquillity, to a surprising degree, in so short a time.

Second, may be converted to their advantage.

To defeat the second, and to wipe away the imputation of disaffection and turbulence that your enemies have endeavoured to affix on your general character, the present occasion is favourable, and ought to be carefully employed for so commendable an object.

Arts to mislead the vulgar,

The same arts are now employed to mislead the unsuspecting and ignorant, by an appeal to their predominant passion, the love of their country;—their monopoly of power these men do not blush to call the independence of their country; and they who, on every occasion, opposed any act of justice to PAPISTS, now invite them to join in acts of sedition against the King

who has befriended them, and the Lord Lieutenant who has protected them.

The ſenſible and diſcerning part of the Roman Catholics are in no danger of being deceived by ſuch inſidious attempts; but they ought, at the ſame time, to exert themſelves to guard the giddy and the thoughtleſs from any act of diſorder or inſubordination which might give any handle to reflect on their community; for the men that now tempt them would be, hereafter, the foremoſt to accuſe them. to be guarded againſt

The Roman Catholics ought to remember, that, in their preſent political ſituation, this is the only manner in which they can, effectually, ſhow their acquieſcence and approbation of the meaſure of *An Union*; and by their loyal and orderly behaviour recommend themſelves to His Majeſty's favour, and the good opinion of their fellow-ſubjects.

In confirmation of what I recommend, I will quote an authority which muſt be ever dear and reſpected by every Roman Catholic Iriſhman. It is the Introduction of the great charter of their liberties, the Preamble to the famous ſtatute of the 18th of His preſent Majeſty, ch. 49. which broke the chains of the Penal Code, under which they had long groaned, and

reſtored them to the rights of freemen. It was, I believe, drawn by that great and good man, the late Chief Baron Burgh, and ſhould be cheriſhed as the legacy and advice of a departed friend.

Chief Baron Burgh.

Preamble to 18 Geo. III. ch. 49.

" Whereas, by an Act made in this kingdom, in the ſecond year of Her late Majeſty Queen Anne, intituled, ' An Act to prevent ' the further Growth of Popery ;' and alſo by another Act made in the eighth year of the ſaid reign, for explaining and amending the ſaid Act, the Roman Catholics of Ireland are made ſubject to ſeveral diſabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned : and whereas, *from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long ſeries of years*, it appears *reaſonable* and *expedient* to *relax the ſame*, and it muſt *tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom*, but *to the proſperity* and *ſtrength of all His Majeſty's dominions*, that his *ſubjects* of *all denominations ſhould enjoy the bleſſings of our free Conſtitution*, and *ſhould be bound to each other by* MUTUAL INTEREST and MUTUAL AFFECTION : *Therefore* be it enacted," &c. &c.

Theſe principles of a liberal and enlightened policy deſerve to be written in letters of gold. Roman Catholics ! you here ſee the road that leads to the accompliſhment of all your wiſhes : your

your *uniform peaceable behaviour* has reſtored you to the rank you now hold in the ſtate: a perſeverance in an *uniform peaceable behaviour* will obtain for you every thing that now remains to be done.

Peaceable behaviour, and conſequences.

By an Union with Great Britain you will farther acquire additional weight by uniting with the Roman Catholics of that kingdom, among whom you will find men of eminence and reſpectability, whoſe prudence and diſcretion will be of the greateſt uſe to direct your proceedings; as the irreproachable conduct of that body, in general, will, it is to be hoped, have the moſt beneficial tendency in influencing you to follow ſo laudable an example.

Before I cloſe this part of my ſubject, I would beg leave to call the moſt ſerious attention of both Proteſtants and Roman Catholics to the misfortunes that have deſolated the once happy kingdom of France, and *which have been all produced by a conteſt between two claſſes or parties*; *ſituated, as to civil franchiſes, as they now are*, with this difference, that the diſtinctions between the claſſes in France did not originate from religious perſuaſion, as they do in Ireland.

State of France and Ireland compared.

The *Nobleſſe* and *Clergé* poſſeſſed, as the Proteſtants of Ireland, excluſive privileges to

all the great offices of honour, diſtinction, and conſideration in the ſtate, with one additional privilege indeed, an exemption from certain taxes, which they denominated ignoble; and the *Tiers Etat*, or majority of the people, demanded *equality* of rights, and *equality* of *burdens*, with as much violence as ever the Roman Catholics called for *emancipation*.

Their demand as to *burdens* appeared reaſonable; and as there was a *deficit* in the public revenue, an *Aſſemblée de Notables* was called in 1788, for the purpoſe, and in the hope, of prevailing on the *privileged claſſes* to ſubmit to an *equality of taxation*; but the *Nobleſſe* and *Clergé* clung to their privilege, and formed a factious oppoſition, which ended in the diſſolution of the *Aſſemblée*.

The Court, diſappointed of carrying the meaſure amicably, reſolved on calling the *Etats Generaux*, conſiſting of the *Nobles*, *Clergé*, and *Tiers Etat*; which laſt was to conſiſt of 600 members, and the two former of 300 each. This arrangement, calculated to give a preponderancy to the *Tiers Etat*, created great alarm among the *Nobleſſe* and *Clergé*, who ſaw themſelves aimed at by it, and prepared for defence. The whole military force of the kingdom, the provincial governments, the forts and garriſons,

were

were all in the hands of the *Nobleſſe*; the *diſcipline was relaxed*, and *the ſeeds of diſaffection ſown through the army*; while the *Clergé* railed and caballed againſt the King and the Court.

On the meeting of the *Etats*, the third eſtate, conſcious of their own ſtrength, and led by men of the firſt abilities, were unbounded in their demands; they inſiſted on the Three Chambers being united into one, and all queſtions being decided by the *appel nominal*, or majority of votes: the *Etats Generaux* were converted into an *Aſſemblée Nationale*, and the wildeſt pretenſions ſucceeded. Not ſatisfied with deſtroying privileges, they felt themſelves inſecure if they did not aboliſh the privileged orders themſelves, which ſoon led to the deſtruction of the King and the overthrow of the Government. The conduct of the *Tiers Etat* ſhowed that great bodies of men are incapable of gratitude; and the *King*, the *Nobles*, and *Clergé*, ſaw the fatal effects of their diſagreement when they became irreparable; and their union to counteract the conſequences that threatened them all, only rendered the ſtruggle more animated and more violent.

In this ſtruggle, not only the King and the leaders of both parties have fallen victims, but government, order, law, religion, and property, have

have been buried in one common ruin. The ſons of the revolution have ſucceſſively ſprung up in arms, as in the days of fable, from the *ſerpent's teeth*, only to deſtroy each other: the country at laſt, after being deluged with blood and exhauſted by crimes, now flies to a MILITARY DESPOTISM to ſhelter her from the horrors produced by her *New Conſtitution*; and the ſtruggling factions bend the knee to a *Corſican Adventurer*, and implore a STATE OF SLAVERY to reſcue them from the *anarchy* of *independence* and *equality*.

Such are the conſequences that have reſulted from a ſtruggle for civil rights between two great claſſes of the people in France; and ſuch are the conſequences that may moſt certainly be expected to ariſe from a ſtruggle of the ſame kind in Ireland, if the good ſenſe of both parties does not derive the benefit from this example, to unite amicably for a compromiſe, by which every thing that is valuable may be obtained, and every thing that is ruinous avoided.

CONCLUSION.

NATURE has, for the wiſeſt purpoſes, implanted in the heart of man a ſocial paſſion, for mutual aſſiſtance and general preſervation. This paſſion, as the mind enlarges and reaſon expands, extends itſelf by ſlow degrees, like the gradations of an increaſing ſeries, from the family and the home, to the community, the kingdom, and the ſtate. But early prejudice and local attachment ſtill cling round the firſt objects of our affection, and yield at laſt, with difficulty, to the voice of reaſon and the public good. Love of our country

What now conſtitutes a barony, formerly conſtituted a kingdom; and the bickerings and bloodſhed with which their petty conteſts were maintained, ſhow us the difficulty with which *Union* was accompliſhed, even when mutual advantage rendered a junction of ſtrength indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſafety of both, to preſerve them againſt a common enemy.

This honeſt prejudice has the ſtrongeſt power over the moſt ignorant and uninformed minds, who are incapable either of reflecting on remote cauſes, or judging of diſtant conſequences; ſubject to abuſe.

and naturally expoſes their unſuſpecting tempers to be miſled by the artful clamour of intereſted and deſigning men.

The clamour excited againſt the preſent ſalutary meaſure of an Incorporate Union has been induſtriouſly circulated, through the filaments of Parliamentary influence, over counties, corporations, and boroughs: it is the old ſtory of *Long live Diana of Epheſus!* The impreſſion made by miſrepreſentation, though it may be violent, is generally of ſhort duration. It cannot ſtand the teſt of fair inquiry, and prejudice muſt ſubſide as reaſon begins to operate.

Review of the ſubject.

I have avoided touching on the manifold benefits that an Union with Great Britain muſt produce on the general improvement of the wealth, ſtrength, and happineſs of the kingdom of Ireland, as this part of the ſubject has been already ſo ably and fully diſcuſſed. I have, on the other hand, endeavoured to ſhow the abſolute neceſſity for this meaſure, in order to correct the inconveniences and dangers that reſult from the preſent defective ſtate of the political connexion between the two kingdoms; and to prevent the diſorders and calamities that are the natural conſequences of the preſent relative ſituation of the religious diſtinctions within the kingdom of Ireland.

I con-

I conceive that men may refuſe their aſſent to an Union on the firſt ground, and balance private intereſt againſt public advantage; but no man can reject it on the ſecond, without ſacrificing individual ſafety and general ſecurity to petty and partial conſiderations.

It is however extremely deſirable that the queſtion ſhould be moſt minutely conſidered; truth runs no riſk from inquiry—and if every degree of perſonality could be thrown aſide, the arguments might be weighed on their own merits. To ſet the example, I ſhall here ſtate every Objection I have ever heard made to an Incorporate Union, without any reference to the perſons by whom they have been advanced; and ſhall annex ſuch ſhort Anſwers as, I truſt, will carry conviction along with them, as they ſhall be founded in *facts* which cannot be called in queſtion.

Objections to Union anſwered.

Firſt Objection. The preſent proſperity of Ireland is owing to her *independant* Parliament.

Firſt Objection.

Anſwer. If a line of demarcation is to be drawn, the proſperity of Ireland is owing, excluſively, to her *dependant* Parliament; for all the benefits to her trade, including the grant of a free trade in 1780, were acquired by the *dependant* Parliament, and none that I ever

heard of by her *independent* Parliament; but a mutual intercourſe under the Navigation Act, or what is called the Re-export Trade, which, I believe, has never produced one thouſand pounds profit to the kingdom.

Second Objection.

Second Objection. Great Britain is jealous of the proſperity of Ireland, and propoſes an Union in order to deſtroy her trade and her independence.

Anſwer. Ignorance alone of Britiſh liberty and Britiſh proſperity could liſten to ſuch a ſtupid calumny, which, in fact, contradicts itſelf: for if Great Britain were capable of harbouring ſuch mean and baſe views, ſhe could make the attempt only, while Ireland remains, as at preſent, in a ſeparate ſtate. But when Ireland becomes united with Great Britain, and a part of the ſame ſtate, it is abſolutely impoſſible for Great Britain to deſtroy either the *independence* or the *trade* of Ireland without becoming *felo de ſe*, and deſtroying her own at the ſame time. There will not be then *two* Parliaments, as now; there will be but *one* Parliament, and *one* law, for every part of the empire.

Third Objection.

Third Objection. Britiſh merchants and Britiſh manufacturers are not more likely to ſettle in

in Ireland, nor Britiſh capital to be employed there after an Union than before.

Anſwer. Circumſtances may undoubtedly counteract the faireſt proſpects; but an Union has a direct tendency, if not counteracted by unfortunate events, to produce all the above conſequences; for, in the firſt place, when the appeal from the Iriſh Courts to the Britiſh Parliament was taken away, the Britiſh, from want of confidence, drew their money out of Ireland. When the appeal is reſtored to their own ſupreme Court of Judicature, confidence will return with it; and when the ſtate of the country is ſuch as to render it ſafe for men to venture their perſons and property; the fertile ſoil of Ireland, the mild climate, cheap proviſions, and cheap labour, will infallibly attract both manufacturers and capital: but the country muſt be quiet, and order and ſubordination to the laws are neceſſary preliminaries.

If theſe take place, capital will not be wanting for every poſſible object of improvement and ſpeculation. To enter into a detailed account of the preſent ſtate of Great Britain, would lead me into too wide a field: but one ſimple view will be ſufficient to convince the plaineſt underſtanding, that ſhe abounds with capital at this moment, far beyond all former

example. During the courſe of the preſent war Great Britain has raiſed, one year with another, upwards of twenty millions every year over and above what will be wanting for her peace eſtabliſhment. Her trade has, at the ſame time, been extended to an incredible degree, and her manufactures have increaſed in proportion: no enterpriſe has failed, no undertaking miſcarried, for want of capital: and one happy effect of ſuch unprecedented proſperity has been, the eradicating the ſpirit of jealouſy formerly entertained of Ireland; ſo that at a peace, as Great Britain will have twenty millions of ſurplus capital to diſpoſe of, there can be no doubt, that it would prefer ſettling in Ireland, if Ireland be quiet and under the ſame judicature, rather than going to the Weſt Indies, to Africa, or even to France, in queſt of employment.

If this does not happen, it will be owing to Ireland herſelf; and the blame will belong entirely to her.

Great Britain and Ireland are now like a higher reach and a lower reach of the ſame canal: take away the lock that ſeparates them, and the water will flow to a common level.

A poorer country has every thing to gain from

from a partnerſhip with a richer; and nothing to loſe.

Fourth Objection. An Union will injure the Dublin bankers. It will hurt the ſhop-keepers, who live partly by letting lodgings. It will hurt the attornies, and the lawyers. Fourth Objection

Anſwer. 1. The reduction of the rate of intereſt, from 6 to 5 per cent. which will be the conſequence of an Union, will be a loſs to the banker; but it will be a very great advantage to the public; as nothing contributes ſo much to the increaſe of trade and manufactures, as a low rate of intereſt; and even what the banker loſes in this manner, he may be expected to do more than gain in another, from the increaſed circulation and the extenſion of trade.

2. When the Parliament met only every ſecond year, Dublin was fuller, and the ſociety better, the intermediate winter that it did not meet. The ſociety of Dublin has been hurt by the violence of party; it will ſtill be the capital of the kingdom, the ſeat of juſtice, of literature, of elegance and amuſement. Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Gallway, Derry, Belfaſt, and Newry, may all contend with Dublin for the foreign and colonial trade; but Dublin will ever retain the linen trade, and the trade with

with Britain for home conſumption; the firſt from the linen hall of Dublin being ſupplied with complete aſſortments of the Leinſter, as well as Ulſter linens, which will always attract the Engliſh factors; and which circumſtance did defeat an attempt that was made ſome years ago to transfer the linen market from Dublin to Belfaſt; and the ſecond is a conſequence of the firſt, to which the return is made from the London market, in articles of conſumption and luxury, for the ſupply of Dublin; and from thence conveyed by the means of two canals, that extend to the ſouth, the weſt, and north-weſt extremities of the kingdom. But the example of Edinburgh ought moſt completely to remove every apprehenſion entertained by the inhabitants of Dublin, from the effects of the Union; as whatever difference can be pointed out in the two caſes, will be found to be in favour of Dublin.

3. If it be true, that attornies live by property, as property increaſes, their buſineſs is not likely to decreaſe.

4. The ſame may be ſaid of lawyers, though it muſt be admitted that they will loſe one line of promotion which has been pretty ſucceſsful; for if an Union takes place, a young lawyer, who has walked the hall of the Four Courts with

with an empty bag in the morning, cannot come down to the Houſe of Commons, and make his fortune by roaſting the Secretary: but if, in conſequence, he ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of ſtudying Blackſtone inſtead of Blarney, and Coke upon Littleton, inſtead of abuſive declamation, *he* might find the benefit in the end, and his clients be no loſers.

Fifth Objection. It will encourage emigration. Fifth Objection.

Anſwer. The reſidence of 32 Peers and 100 Commoners, for a few months, cannot greatly affect either Dublin or London; and the life of London is too expenſive to encourage emigration.

The emigration that hurts Ireland, is to Bath, Cheltenham, Buxton, and Harrowgate, which are become Iriſh colonies; to ſay nothing of Brighton and Tunbridge, and the thouſands of Iriſh families that are now ſcattered over Wales, watching for the moment that they can venture to return to their native homes.

The diſturbed and unſettled ſtate of Ireland, is the cauſe of the only emigration by which ſhe can ever be injured.

So

General obſervations.

So ſalutary are the effects that Ireland has to expect from an Union, on the proſperity, the ſecurity, and the peace of the country, that it would have been her intereſt to embrace the propoſal with ardor, on whatever conditions it had been made. But here the generoſity of Great Britain appears in the brighteſt point of view; for ſo extremely favourable are the conditions to Ireland, that the oppoſers of the meaſure in that kingdom, have choſen, in deſpair of finding room for cavil, to paſs them over in ſilence, rather than call the attention of the public to terms which were ſure of meeting their warmeſt approbation; and which will be more cordially embraced, as they are better underſtood.

The only advantage that Great Britain looks for, is from the improved ſtate of Ireland; in the hope of reſtoring her to vigour and health, inſtead of being, as at preſent, a diſordered member of the body politic; and of ſaving the conſtitution from the danger of a vicious and diſeaſed habit, which, if not corrected, muſt prove fatal, in the end.

If I am aſked, if I can depend on an Union producing this happy change; I anſwer, that an Union will not only remove the imperfections that tend to deſtroy the connexion between

the two kingdoms; but that it would gradually extinguiſh the animoſities and feuds between the different bodies of the people of Ireland, from which its diſorders and troubles have ſprung. By introducing capital and induſtry, it would give occupation to the idle and the miſchievous; and when theſe have produced their effect, a ſtrong government and a vigorous execution of the laws, muſt complete what an Union will have begun.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Anno Sexto Geo. III. Chap. 5. *An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.*

I. WHEREAS the Houſe of Lords of Ireland have of late, againſt law, aſſumed to themſelves a power and juriſdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the Courts of Juſtice in the kingdom of Ireland: therefore, for the better ſecuring of the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, may it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be ſubordinate unto, and dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inſeparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

II. And be it further declared and enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that the Houſe of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any juriſdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverſe any judgment, ſentence, or decree, given or

made in any Court within the ſaid kingdom; and that all proceedings before the ſaid Houſe of Lords upon any ſuch judgment, ſentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever.

NUMBER II.

Copy of His Majeſty's Meſſage delivered to the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain on the 9th of April 1782.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majeſty, being concerned to find that diſcontents and jealouſies are prevailing among his loyal ſubjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earneſtly recommends to this Houſe to take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as may give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms.

G. R.

Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, to return His Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe, for his moſt gracious meſſage; and to aſſure His Majeſty, that this Houſe, feeling with His Majeſty the deepeſt concern that diſcontents and jealouſies ſhould have ariſen among His Majeſty's loyal ſubjects in Ireland, will, without delay, take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as may give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms.

NUMBER III.

Copy of the Meſſage to the Houſe of Lords and Commons in Ireland, from His Grace the Lord Lieutenant; delivered the 16th of April 1782.

PORTLAND.

I HAVE it in command from His Majeſty to inform this Houſe, that His Majeſty, being concerned to find that diſcontents and jealouſies, &c. &c. &c.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER IV.

Copy of a Reſolution of the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, Mercurii, 17° Die Aprilis, 1782.

Die Mercurii, 17° Aprilis, 1782.

RESOLVED, by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in Parliament aſſembled, *Nemine diſſentiente*, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, to return him our thanks for the moſt gracious Meſſage ſent to this Houſe by His Majeſty's command, through the medium of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant; and to aſſure him of our moſt unſhaken loyalty and attachment to His Majeſty's perſon and government, and of the lively ſenſe we entertain of his paternal care of his people of Ireland, in thus inquiring into the diſcontents and jealouſies that ſubſiſt amongſt them, in order to ſuch *final adjuſtment* as may give mutual ſatisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

Signed, { William Watts Gayer, } Cler.
{ Edward Gayer, } Parliament.

NUMBER V.

Copy of a Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, Martis, 16° Die Aprilis, 1782.

Martis, 16° Die Aprilis, 1782.

RESOLVED, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, to return His Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe for his moſt gracious Meſſage to this Houſe, ſignified by His Grace the Lord Lieutenant; to aſſure His Majeſty of our unſhaken attachment to His Majeſty's perſon and government, and of our lively ſenſe of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to adminiſter content to His Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland; that, thus encouraged by his royal interpoſition, we ſhall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before His Majeſty the cauſes of our diſcontents and jealouſies; to aſſure His Majeſty, that his ſubjects of Ireland are a free people; that the Crown of Ireland is an imperial Crown, inſeparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain; on which connexion, the intereſts and happineſs of

both

both nations eſſentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a diſtinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the ſole legiſlature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any ſort whatſoever in this country, ſave only the Parliament of Ireland: To aſſure His Majeſty, that we humbly conceive, that in this right the very eſſence of our liberties exiſted; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives: To aſſure His Majeſty, that we have ſeen with concern, certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an Act intituled, "An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of Ireland;" an Act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation; that we conſider this Act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cauſe of the diſcontents and jealouſies in this kingdom: To aſſure His Majeſty, that His Majeſty's Commons of Ireland do moſt ſincerely wiſh, that all Bills which become law in Ireland ſhould receive the approbation of His Majeſty, under the Seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do conſider the practice of ſuppreſſing our Bills in the Council of Ireland, or altering the ſame any where, to be another juſt cauſe of diſcontent and jealouſy: To aſſure His Majeſty, that an Act, intituled, "An Act for the better Accommodation of His Majeſty's Forces," being unlimited in duration, and defective in other inſtances, but paſſed in that ſhape from the particular circumſtances of the times, is another juſt cauſe of diſcontent and jealouſy in this kingdom: That we have ſubmitted theſe the principal cauſes of the preſent diſcontent and jealouſy in Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redreſs; that we have the greateſt reliance on His Majeſty's wiſdom, the moſt ſanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a Chief Governor, and great confidence in the wiſe, auſpicious, and conſtitutional councils which we ſee, with ſatisfaction, His Majeſty has adopted; that we have moreover a high ſenſe and veneration for the Britiſh character, and do therefore conceive, that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, muſt have excited the approbation and eſteem, inſtead of wounding the pride of the Britiſh nation, and we beg leave to

aſſure His Majeſty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inaſmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expreſſed a deſire to ſhare the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to ſhare her fate likewiſe, ſtanding and falling with the Britiſh nation.

(Signed) Thos. Ellis, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

[Theſe two Addreſſes Nos. IV. and V. were preſented by Mr. Secretary Fox to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, May 1, 1782.]

NUMBER VI.

Britiſh Houſe of Commons, May 17, 1782.

ORDERED, That the ſeveral papers which were preſented to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary Fox, upon the 1ſt day of this inſtant May, be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Mr. Powys reported from the ſaid Committee the following Reſolutions, which the Committee had directed him to report to the Houſe, viz.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that an Act, made in the ſixth year of the reign of His late Majeſty King George I. intituled, "An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," ought to be repealed.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is indiſpenſable to the intereſts and happineſs of both kingdoms, that the connexion between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by mutual conſent, upon a ſolid and permanent baſis.

The ſaid Reſolutions being ſeverally read a ſecond time, were, upon the queſtion ſeverally put thereupon, agreed to by the Houſe, *nemine contradicente*.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing an Act, made in the ſixth year of the reign of His late Majeſty King George I. intituled, "An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain." And that Mr. Secretary Fox, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Powys, and Lord John Cavendiſh, do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, that His Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as His Majeſty in his Royal wiſdom ſhall think moſt conducive to the eſtabliſhing, by mutual conſent, the connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a ſolid and permanent baſis.

May 22, 1782.

Mr. Secretary Fox reported to the Houſe, that His Majeſty had been attended with the Addreſs of this Houſe of Friday laſt, which His Majeſty had been pleaſed to receive very graciouſly; and that His Majeſty had commanded him to acquaint this Houſe, that he will immediately take ſuch meaſures as may be moſt likely to conduce to the eſtabliſhment of a connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a ſolid and permanent baſis.

NUMBER VII.

Journals of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, May 27, 1782.

THE Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick preſented to the Houſe, by order of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant,

Reſolutions and Addreſs of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal of Great Britain, relating to Ireland, the 17th of May 1782.

Votes of the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain, relating to Ireland, dated the 17th day of May 1782.

Read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The Right Honourable Mr. Fitzpatrick informed the Houſe, that His Majeſty had been pleaſed to return a moſt gracious Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe of the 16th of April—which is as follows:

GEORGE R.

His Majeſty receives with pleaſure the aſſurances of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, of their unſhaken attachment to his perſon and family.

It gives His Majeſty the higheſt ſatisfaction to obſerve,

 that

that in their opinion, in which His Majeſty perfectly concurs, the conſtitutional connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is eſſential to the intereſts and happineſs of both nations; and that it is the determination of his people of Ireland to ſhare the fate of, and to ſtand and fall with the Britiſh nation.

His Majeſty conceives that theſe principles cannot fail to contribute to the accompliſhment of his earneſt deſire to remove all cauſes of diſcontent and jealouſy; with that view His Majeſty has recommended this weighty and important ſubject to the conſideration of his Parliaments of both kingdoms, truſting that their united wiſdom will ſuggeſt ſuch meaſures as may terminate in a final adjuſtment to their mutual ſatisfaction.

With the ſame view His Majeſty intends forthwith to communicate to the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, the Addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

G. R.

NUMBER VIII.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER, *May* 28, 1782.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty of our unfeigned affection to your royal perſon and government; and that we feel moſt ſenſibly the attention which our repreſentations have received from the magnanimity of your Majeſty, and the wiſdom of the Parliament of Great Britain.

We aſſure your Majeſty, that we conceive the Reſolution for an unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſdom and juſtice, ſuitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character of both, and furniſhing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

We aſſure your Majeſty, that we are ſenſibly affected by your virtuous determination to accede to the wiſhes of your faithful people, and to exerciſe your royal prerogative in a manner moſt conducive to their welfare; and accordingly we ſhall immediately prepare bills to carry into execution the deſires of your Majeſty's people and your own moſt benevolent purpoſes.

Gratified in thoſe particulars, we do aſſure your Majeſty that no conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations will any longer exiſt, which can interrupt their harmony; and that Great Britain, as ſhe has approved of our firmneſs, ſo may ſhe rely on our affection.

We remember and do repeat our determination to ſtand and fall with the Britiſh nation.

We perceive with pleaſure the magnanimity of your Majeſty diſclaims the little policy of making a bargain with your people; and feeling with pride the confidence your Majeſty repoſes in the good faith, generoſity, and honour of the Iriſh nation, we anſwer with all humility, that your Majeſty entertains a juſt ſenſe of our character. Common intereſt, perpetual connexion, the recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the Britiſh name and nation, together with the conſtitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we poſſeſs, muſt ever decide the wiſhes as well as the intereſt of Ireland to perpetuate the harmony, ſtability, and glory of the empire.

We aſſure your Majeſty, that we learn with ſingular ſatisfaction the account of your brilliant ſucceſſes in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, gratified at one and the ſame inſtant in our deareſt wiſhes, the freedom of Ireland, and glory of Great Britain.

We cannot omit expreſſing our gratitude to your Majeſty, for appointing the Duke of Portland to the government of this kingdom. We are convinced his repreſentations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial.

We are acquainted with his character, and, relying on his upright and frugal adminiſtration, make no doubt that a free people and an uncorrupt Parliament will unite to give a conſtitutional Chief Governor decided ſupport.

We have preſumed to lay before your Majeſty our genuine ſentiments on the change of our ſituation. Your Majeſty will receive them as the voluntary, unſtipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.

NUMBER

NUMBER IX.

His Majeſty's Anſwer, preſented by Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick, June 13, 1782.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majeſty has received with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction the dutiful and loyal Addreſs of his Houſe of Commons of Ireland. His Majeſty aſſures his faithful Commons of his affectionate acceptance of their grateful acknowledgments for the attention which His Majeſty and the Parliament of Great Britain have ſhown to their repreſentations, and which they ſo juſtly conſider as furniſhing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

The declarations of the Houſe of Commons, that no conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations will any longer exiſt, that can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain may rely on their affections, are very pleaſing to His Majeſty.

His Majeſty is fully convinced, by their preſent profeſſions of entire ſatisfaction and dutiful attachment, that His Majeſty always entertained a juſt ſenſe of their character; the zeal which they have ſhown to perpetuate the harmony, and their determinations to uphold the glory of the empire, juſtify His Majeſty for having, on his part, given the moſt unequivocal proofs of his royal confidence in the honour and good faith of the Irith nation.

G. R.

NUMBER X.

Copy of an Addreſs of Thanks to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant, May 28, 1782.

To His Grace William Henry, Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble Adddreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

WE, His Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to

expreſs our moſt unfeigned acknowledgments for your excellent ſpeech from the throne; and we do beſeech your Grace to be aſſured, that theſe are not the trite expreſſions of mere formal duty, but the pure effuſions of genuine gratitude from a free people to a Chief Governor who has announced from the throne the ratification of their freedom. Deſcended from a line of conſtitutional anceſtors, inheriting their principles with their blood, the appointment of your Grace to the government of this country, was an earneſt given by a beneficent Prince, of thoſe gracious intentions which he has ſince ſo fully manifeſted to his people; and amidſt the entire ſatisfaction which we experience from the important information which your Grace has been pleaſed to communicate, we cannot but rejoice that the name of Bentinck, ſo intimately connected with the great æra of Britiſh liberty, will be handed down to the lateſt poſterity, inſeparably blended with the full and perfect eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of Ireland. And we have the beſt founded expectations that a Nobleman, in whoſe virtues both countries have the juſteſt confidence, will for ever cement thoſe friendly and affectionate diſpoſitions, which it is our earneſt wiſh ſhould at all times mutually continue between the two countries.

Copy of His Grace the Duke of Portland's Anſwer, May 30, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my moſt ſincere thanks for your kind and affectionate Addreſs, and receive with ſingular pleaſure your animated and honourable expreſſions of gratitude and entire ſatisfaction, ariſing from thoſe declarations which the benign wiſdom of His Majeſty and the Britiſh Parliament has enabled me to make from the throne. I ſhall think myſelf fortunate indeed, if the period of my adminiſtration of this country ſhall prove the æra of reciprocal and inſeparable affection between Great Britain and Ireland; an æra ſacred to every friend, as it is formidable to every enemy, of the Britiſh empire.

NUMBER XI.

22 Geo. III. Cap. 53.

An Act to repeal an Act, made in the ſixth Year of the Reign of His late Majeſty King George the Firſt, intituled "An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain."

WHEREAS an Act was paſſed in the ſixth year of the reign of His late Majeſty King George the Firſt, intituled, "An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain;" may it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from and after the paſſing of this Act, the above-mentioned Act, and the ſeveral matters and things therein contained, ſhall be, and is and are hereby repealed.

NUMBER XII.

23 Geo. III. Cap. 28.

An Act for removing and preventing all Doubts which have ariſen, or might ariſe, concerning the excluſive Rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland, in Matters of Legiſlation and Judicature: and for preventing any Writ of Error or Appeal from any of His Majeſty's Courts in that Kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of His Majeſty's Courts in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

WHEREAS, by an Act of the laſt Seſſion of this preſent Parliament, intituled, "An Act to repeal an Act, made in the ſixth year of the Reign of His late Majeſty King George the Firſt, intituled, 'An Act for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain,' it was enacted, that the ſaid laſt-mentioned Act, and all matters and things therein contained, ſhould be repealed: and whereas doubts have ariſen whether the proviſions of the ſaid Act are ſufficient to ſecure to the people of Ireland

Ireland the rights claimed by them to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majeſty and the Parliament of that kingdom, in all caſes whatever, and to have all actions and ſuits at law or in equity, which may be inſtituted in that kingdom, decided in His Majeſty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence: therefore, for removing all doubts reſpecting the ſame, may it pleaſe your Majeſty that it may be declared and enacted; and be it declared and enacted by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majeſty and the Parliament of that kingdom, in all caſes whatever, and to have all actions and ſuits at law or in equity, which may be inſtituted in that kingdom, decided in His Majeſty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, ſhall be, and it is hereby declared to be eſtabliſhed and aſcertained for ever, and ſhall, at no time hereafter, be queſtioned or queſtionable.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no Writ of Error or Appeal ſhall be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be had by or in any of His Majeſty's Courts in this kingdom, in any action or ſuit at law or in equity, inſtituted in any of His Majeſty's Courts in the kingdom of Ireland; and that all ſuch writs, appeals, or proceedings, ſhall be, and they are hereby declared null and void to all intents and purpoſes; and that all records, tranſcripts of records or proceedings, which have been tranſmitted from Ireland to Great Britain, by virtue of any Writ of Error or Appeal, and upon which no judgment has been given or decree pronounced before the firſt day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, ſhall, upon application made by or in behalf of the party in whoſe favour judgment was given, or decree pronounced, in Ireland, be delivered to ſuch party, or any perſon by him authorized to apply for and receive the ſame.

NUMBER XIII.

Duke of Portland's Correſpondence.

No. 1.

Dublin Caſtle, 6th May 1782.

From the Duke Portland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State.

My Lord,

THE confidence I find repoſed in me is certainly extremely flattering—I will meet it as it deſerves, by continuing to write without any reſerve.

Under the impreſſion of the unavoidable neceſſity of conceding all the points required, for the ſake of deriving any real advantage from the poſſeſſion of this country, I do recommend that poſitive aſſurances be given that the alteration of the Mutiny Bill and the modification of Poyning's Law, ſhall be conceded to them in the form required by their Addreſs; that the 6th of George the Firſt ſhall be repealed, and that Writs of Error ſhall no longer be received by our Court of King's Bench; but that, as Great Britain, by theſe conceſſions, is deſirous not only of ſatisfying the expectations of the Iriſh upon all conſtitutional points, but of preventing every poſſible ſource of future jealouſy and diſcontent, ſhe does not doubt of receiving an unequivocal teſtimony of a correſponding diſpoſition on the part of Ireland, and is perſuaded that the Parliament of this country will co-operate in the moſt effectual method, either with the King's confidential ſervants, or with commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament of Great Britain, or through the medium of the Chief Governor of this kingdom, to ſettle the preciſe limits of that independence which is required, the conſideration that ſhould be given for the protection expected, and the ſhare it would be proper for them to contribute towards the general ſupport of the empire, in purſuance of the declaration contained in the concluding paragraph of their own Addreſs.—The regulation of their trade is a ſubject which, I think, would very properly make a part of the treaty, and which, from the diſſatisfaction expreſſed by many commercial perſons at the deluſive advantages of the Free Trade, would be a very fit and neceſſary ſubject for diſcuſſion. I

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need not inform your Lordſhip that they will find precedents in the firſt volume of the Journals of their own Houſe of Commons, of committees or agents being ſent to England to repreſent their grievances and obtain redreſs.

As every letter your Lordſhip has received from me has progreſſively reduced the hopes I firſt held out to you, it will be natural for you to expect that I ſhould aſſign a reaſon for ſuppoſing that the plan which I have ſubmitted to you will accompliſh the event we deſire. All I can ſay is, that, in my apprehenſion, it ought to accompliſh that event. In my apprehenſion, propoſals, ſuch as I have ſtated, cannot be reſiſted in Parliament with any effect. They ſo directly correſpond with the wiſhes of the public, that I conceive that no artifice could induce them to ſupport an oppoſition to them; the refuſal to accede to them, or to appoint commiſſioners for a Final Adjuſtment, on the grounds of their own Addreſs, when they ſhould be aſſured that perſons were properly authorized for that purpoſe, would be ſuch an indication of ſiniſter deſigns as would warrant your directions to me to throw up the government, and to leave them to that fate which their folly and treachery ſhould deſerve. If ſuch ſhould be the ſentiments of the King's ſervants, after uſing every endeavour to bring them to a true ſenſe of their condition, and of the conſequences of ſuch a refuſal, I ſhould heſitate as little to order the yacht, and to leave them to be the victims of their own inſanity, as I ſhould to ſay that it would be uſeleſs to attempt to coerce them, and that the country upon ſuch terms would not be worth poſſeſſing.

Suffer me, my Lord, once more to repeat my moſt earneſt inſtances for a ſpeedy determination. There are paſſages in the two laſt letters I had the honour of receiving from you which make me think that there is little or no difference in our opinions upon this unhappy ſubject; and let me add, that unleſs negotiation can be entered in to with perſons properly authorized by the Parliament of this country, and that the object is to go fairly to the bottom of the buſineſs, and to form a new ſyſtem of relation between the two countries, upon the baſis of their mutual intereſts, the character of the preſent Adminiſtration will be loſt, and the Engliſh Government muſt be prepared to renounce all pretenſions to reſpect or influence in this country. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) PORTLAND.

No. 2.

To Mr. ———.

Dublin Caſtle, Sunday Morning.

SIR, *26th May* 1782.

I ſhould be very glad to hear that Lord Charlemont was inclined to accede to any part, or even to the idea of ſuch a plan, as you have been ſo obliging as to communicate to me. I ſhould conſider it as a material ſtep to that ſituation in which I am ſure it is the intereſt of both kingdoms to be placed; being convinced, that whatever is moſt like a UNION is the moſt probable bond of connexion to reſtore and perpetuate the harmony and proſperity of the two countries.

I am, with great reſpect and regard, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
(Signed) PORTLAND.

No. 3.

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis of Rockingham to the Duke of Portland, dated Wimbledon, 25th May 1782.

The eſſential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I truſt, eſtabliſh a perfect cordiality between the two countries; and as there can no longer exiſt any grounds of conteſt or jealouſy on *matters of right* between the countries, the only object of both will be, how *finally to arrange, ſettle, and adjuſt all matters whereby* THE UNION OF POWER, STRENGTH, AND MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGE *may be beſt permanently fixed.*

I obſerve in Lord Shelburne's letter to your Grace, dated 18th May, he ſtates more reluctance to the idea of Commiſſioners than I ſhould judge to be a general opinion of His Majeſty's Servants; the meaſure may be a doubtful one; but if it appeared to be the inclination among the leading gentlemen of Ireland, I ſhould think good would enſue.

No. 4.

Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Earl of Shelburne, dated Dublin Caſtle, 5th June 1782.

I have now ſtated to your Lordſhip every matter that I can think likely to come before Parliament, and have further to

add, that the deſire which is generally and emphatically expreſſed for a ſpeedy concluſion of this Seſſion, will very forcibly tend to unite Gentlemen in diſcountenancing any attempt to bring on queſtions of any ſort at this ſeaſon of the year. I preſume your Lordſhip will be of opinion, that it is not deſirable to oppoſe the wiſhes of this country reſpecting as early a Prorogation as the buſineſs before them will admit. Nor indeed am I diſinclined to recommend it; for the paſſions of this nation do not appear to me as yet to have ſufficiently ſubſided to let the gratitude which is felt paſs quietly and confidentially through that channel which can alone direct it to the reciprocal advantages of both kingdoms.

There is no doubt of Government being able to ſtop any miſchief; but I cannot ſo readily take upon me to anſwer for the immediate attainment of the benefits which the liberality of Great Britain entitles her to expect. Unleſs, therefore, *one very great meaſure*, which I will make the ſubject of a ſeparate letter, can be obtained, I ſubmit to your Lordſhip the propriety of coinciding in the wiſhes of the Parliament, by putting an end to the preſent Seſſion, as ſoon as may be after the return of the Bills from England.

No. 5.

From the Duke of Portland to the Earl of Shelburne.

My Lord, *Dublin Caſtle, 6th June* 1782.

The meaſure which I ſtated to your Lordſhip in my letter of laſt night, as a ſufficient inducement for deferring the prorogation of Parliament, is of ſo delicate a nature, and requires ſo much ſecrecy and management, that I think it unadviſable to truſt the communication of it to any hand but my own; and as it is poſſible that the event may not juſtify the hopes I entertain, it would perhaps be more prudent to withhold the intelligence which I am now about to give you, until I could tranſmit the plan *properly authenticated*, for the conſideration of your Lordſhip, and the reſt of the King's confidential ſervants. However, as I feel that I have a right to take credit for my endeavours, and that the Miniſters in England equally partake of my reſponſibility in the adminiſtration of the affairs of this country, I am as anxious that they

they ſhould ſhare any merit that can be derived from our joint conduct, as that they ſhould be liable to any blame to which the adoption of ill-adviſed or inconſiderate meaſures may expoſe them. I ſhall therefore acquaint your Lordſhip, that I have reaſon to hope that I may be ſhortly enabled to lay before you the ſketch or outlines of an Act of Parliament to be adopted by the legiſlatures of the reſpective kingdoms; by which the ſuperintending power and ſupremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of ſtate and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a ſhare of the expenſe in carrying on a defenſive or offenſive war, either in ſupport of our own dominions, or thoſe of our allies, ſhall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actual ſtate of her abilities; and that ſhe will adopt every ſuch regulation as may be judged neceſſary by Great Britain, for the better ordering and ſecuring her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, conſideration being duly had to the circumſtances of this country. I am flattered with the expectation of receiving the moſt poſitive aſſurances from — — — — — — — — — of their ſupport in carrying ſuch a Bill through both Houſes of Parliament; and in caſe ſuch an object could be obtained, I ſhould preſume that it would be very adviſable to treſpaſs upon the patience of this country to bring it to perfection, even in the preſent moment. Your Lordſhip may depend upon the earlieſt account of my ſucceſs and progreſs in this buſineſs.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) PORTLAND.

No. 6.

From Lord Shelburne to the Duke of Portland.

Shelburne Houſe, Sunday, June 9, Twelve o'Clock at Noon.

MY LORD,

In the very inſtant of the departure of the meſſenger with the diſpatches accompanying this letter, I have the honour to receive your Grace's of the 5th and 6th.

The contents of the letter are too important to heſitate about detaining him, while I aſſure your Grace of the ſatisfaction I know your letter will give the King. I have

lived in the moſt anxious expectation of ſome ſuch meaſure offering itſelf. Nothing prevented my preſſing it in this diſpatch, except, having repeatedly ſtated the juſt expectations of this country, I was apprehenſive of giving that the air of demand which would be better left to a ſpirit of voluntary juſtice, gratitude, and foreſight. I gave your Grace confidence for watching the temper of thoſe you had to deal with, and cannot expreſs the pleaſure it gives me to find that confidence juſtified. Bargains and compacts may accompliſh little objects—great ends muſt be obtained by a nobler and more generous policy. No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be *one*, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the ſuperintending power and ſupremacy to be where Nature has placed it in *preciſe* and *unambiguous* terms. I am ſure I need not inculcate to your Grace the importance of *words* in an act which muſt decide on the happineſs of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade, ſubjects moſt likely to come into frequent queſtion. Your Grace will have every merit I can give you. I have only to aſſure your Grace of every ſupport neceſſary to carry this meaſure, and of the moſt confidential return to every communication you think the public ſervice may require.

I entirely agree in your Grace's reaſons for putting as ſpeedy an end as poſſible to the preſent Seſſions, unleſs the meaſure you have in contemplation can be obtained.

The King is at Windſor, and every one elſe out of town; I therefore only write the ſentiments of

Your Grace's faithful ſervant,
SHELBURNE.

No. 7.

Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutetenant of Ireland, to the Earl of Shelburne; dated Dublin Caſtle, 22d June 1782.

The diſappointment and mortification I ſuffer by the unexpected change in thoſe diſpoſitions which had authorized me to entertain the hopes I had perhaps too ſanguinely expreſſed in the letter which I had the honour of writing to your Lordſhip, the 6th inſtant, muſt not prevent my acquainting you, that for the preſent thoſe expectations muſt be given up. I truſt, and am inclined to flatter myſelf they are only ſuſpended, and that they will be revived when the

temper of this country ſhall have recovered its tone, and acquired that degree of compoſure which muſt give it the firmneſs neceſſary for effectuating ſo wiſe and ſalutary a meaſure. Mr. F—— will have informed your Lordſhip of ſome very unpleaſant circumſtances which were likely to have happened a very few days before the Adjournment, the traces of which are ſtrongly marked in the Addreſs from the Leinſter Volunteers, which I have this day the honour of tranſmitting to you, but which, I think, are to be attributed to a ſuſpicion of the poſſible effect of a negotiation. By the account of the events of thoſe three or four days, and of the timidity and jealouſy of the firſt people in this country, it is clear to my apprehenſion, that any injudicious or offenſive meaſure may be prevented, but that any attempt to conciliate the minds of this nation to any ſuch meaſure as I intimated the hope of, would at this moment be deluſive and impoſſible.

THE END.

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